

# PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL H

OF THE

### SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OFTHE

# EUROPEANS

IN THE

### EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED, IN TEN VOLUMES,

BY THE ABBÉRAY NAL.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, BY J. O. JUSTAMOND, F. R. S.

WITH\*A

NEW SET OF MAPS, ELEGANT ENGRAVINGS ADAPTED "TO THE WORK, AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

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### PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

### HISTORY

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### SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

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EAST AND WEST INDIES.

# воок гу,

Voyages, Settlements, Wars, and Trade of the French in the East-Indies.

WHEN I began this work, I took an oath BO that I would adhere firstly to truth, and hitherto I am able conscientiously to declare, that I have not departed from it May my hand wither, if it should happen, that by a predifection, which is but too frequent, I should either deceive myself or others with respect to the faults of the French nation. I will neither extendine the good nor the evil which our ancestors have done, and the Portuguese, the Dutch, and even the English themselves, are the people whom I will call upon to attest my impartiality. Let them read and pronounce my sentence. If they should find that I vol. II. B. have

### HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOKhave remitted in favour of the French that feverity with which I have treated them, I give them leave to class me among the number of those flatterers, who for these two thousand years past, have possoned the minds of the people, and of their fovereigns, let them add my volumes to the numerous monuments there are existing of the fame kind of meanness, let them suspect me of having given way to the impressions of terrors, or of having been seduced by the allurement of hopes, let them treat me with the utmost con-

Anc ent revoluta tempt

2

each other, had no other intercourse but such as ons of commerce favage nations, whose wants are always few, can in France have with each other. Their connections abroad were still more circumscribed Some navigators from Vannes carried earthen ware to Great Britain, where they bartered it for dogs, flaves, tin, and furs Such of these articles as they could not dispose of at home, were conveyed to Marfeilles, and exchanged for wines, stuffs, and spices, which were brought there by traders from Italy or Greece

THE ancient Gauls, almost always at war with

This kind of traffic was not carried on by all the Gauls It appears from Cæfar's account, that the inhabitants of Belgia had prohibited the im-portation of all foreign commodities, as tending to corrupt their morals They imagined that their own foil was fufficiently fruitful to answer all their wants The Celtic and Aquitanian Gauls were not so strict. To enable them to pay for the commodities they might procure from the Mediterranean, and for which the demand was continually increasing, they had recourse to a kind of labour that had never before occurred to them they collected with great care all the gold dust that

was brought down with the fand along the ffream BOOK of feveral of their rivers.

ALTHOUGH the Romans had neither a turn for trade, nor held it in any kind of estimation, it necessarily increased in Gaul, after they had subdued, and in some measure civilized it. Sea-ports were established at Arles, Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and other places. Magnificent roads were every where made, the ruins of which we still behold with aftonishment. Every navigable river had it's company of merchants, to whom confiderable privileges were granted. These were called Nautes. and were the agents and springs of a general circulation.

This rifing spirit was checked by the inroads of the Franks and other barbarous nations; nor was it restored to it's former activity, even when these robbers had established themselves in their conquests. To their favage fury succeeded an unbounded passion for wealth, to gratify which, they had recourse to every kind of oppression. Every boat that came to a town was to pay a duty for entrance, another for the falute, a third for the bridge, a fourth for approaching the shore, a fifth for anchorage, a fixth for leave to unload, and a feventh for ftore-room. : Land carriages were not more favourably treated, and were exposed to the infufferable tytanny of cuftom-house officers, who were dispersed all over the country. These excelles were carried to far, that sometimes the goods brought to market did not produce enough to pay the expences incurred before the fale of them. A total discouragement was the necessary consequence of fuch enormities.

CLOYSTERS foon became the only places where industry prevailed, and manufactures were carried on. The Monks were not then corrupted by idleness, intrigue, and debauchery. Useful laBOOK bours filled up the vacancies of an edifying and retured hie. The most humble and robust of them shared the toils of agriculture with their vassils. Those to whom nature had imparted less strength, or more understanding, applied themselves to the cultivation of the neglected and abandoned arts. All of them in silence and retirement were engaged in the service of their country, the substance of which their successors have incessantly devoured,

while they disturbed it's tranquillity.

Ir these recluse persons had not had recourse to any of those miquitous measures that have led them to the degree of wealth to which we now fee. not without indignation, they have attained; they must necessarily have acquired it in process of time. as it was one of the immediate effects of their confluttion. The founders of monafteries had not the least idea of the confequence, though evident enough, of the austerity they imposed upon a' monastic life. They were not aware of the accumulation of riches, the limits of which it is impossible to fix, whenever the annual revenue exceeds the annual expenditure. This expenditure being always the fame, and fubject to no variation. except that of the circumstances which raise or lower the price of provisions; and the overplus of the revenue being continually accumulating, must at length, however trifling we may suppose it, form a great mass of wealth. The prohibiting statutes enacted with respect to possessions in mortmain, may therefore retard, but can never put an entire flop to, the progress of monastic opulence. The case is not the same with the samples of citizens which are not subservient to any kind of rule. A produgal fon succeeds to an avaricious father, so that expences are never upon the same footing. The fortune is either diffirated, or it is improved. Persons who have laid down rules for religious societies.

eties, have done it in the fole view of making holy B O O K men; but their regulations have tended more di- .IV. rectly and more effectually to make rich ones.

DAGOBERT excited the spirit of his countrymen in the seventh century. Fairs were opened, to which the Saxons slocked with tin and lead from England; the Jews with jewels and gold or sliver plate; the Sclavonians with all the metals of the North; traders from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain, with the commodities of their respective countries, and those they received from Assia, Egypt, and Syria; the merchants of every province in the kingdom, with whatever their foil and their industry afforded. Unfortunately, this prosperity was of a short duration; it disappeared under indolent kings, but revived under Charle-

magne.

THIS prince, who might without flattery be ranked with the greatest men recorded in history, had he not been sometimes influenced by sanguinary schemes of conquest, and fullied with acts of perfecution and tyranny, seemed to follow the footsteps of those first Romans, whose relaxations, from the fatigues of war, were the labours of agriculture. He applied himself to the care of his vaft domains, with that closeness and skill which would hardly be expected from the most assiduous man in a private station. All the great men of the state followed his example, and devoted themselves to husbandry, and to those arts which attend, or are immediately connected with it. From that period the French had many of their own productions to barter, and could with great ease make them circulate throughout the immense empire, which was then subject to their dominion.

So flourishing a fituation presented a fresh allurement to the Normans to include the inclination BOOK they had for piracy Those barbarians, accustomed to teck from plunder that wealth which their foil did not afford, poured forth in multitudes out of their inhospitable climate in quest of booty They attacked all the sea coasts, but more especially those of France, which promised the richest spoil, with the greatest avoity The ravages they committed, the cruelties they exercised, the strategy committed, the cruelties they exercised, the strategy in those ferrile provinces, cannot be remembered without horror During that state period nothing was thought of but how to escape slavery or death. There was no intercourse between the several parts of the kingdom, and consequently no trade

In the mean time the nobles, intrusted with the administration of the provinces, had insensibly made themselves masters of them, and had found means to make their authority hereditary. They had not, indeed, thrown off all dependence on the head of the empire, but, although they re-tained the humble appallation of vaffals, they were not much less formidable to the firste than the kings in the neighbourhood of it's frontiers They were confirmed in their usurpations at the memorable æra when the sceptre was removed from the family of Charlemagne to that of the Capets From that time there were no national affemblies no tribunals. no laws, no government In that fatal confusion. the fword usurped the place of justice, and the free citizens were forced to embrace servitude, to pur chase the protection of a chief who was able to defend them

COMMERCE could not poffibly flourth when loaded with the shackles of slavery, and in the midst of the continual disturbinces occasioned by the most cruel anarchy Industry is the child of peace, nothing depresses it so much as servitude Genius languishes when it is not animated by

hope

hope and emulation; and neither of these can sub-BOOK.

fift where there is no property. Nothing is a IV.

stronger recommendation of liberty, or more fully proves the rights of mankind, than the impossibility of working successfully to enrich barbarous

None of the kings of France had any conception of this important truth, till they became fenfible of it, from experiencing the inconveniencies of an authority exposed to perpetual reftraint. They therefore endeavoured to limit the power of those substitution tryants, who, by ruining their unfortunate vassals, perpetuated the calamties of the monarchy. St. Lewis was the first who introduced trade into the system of government. Before his time it was only the work of chance and circumstances. He brought it under the regulation of stated laws; and he himself drew up statutes, which have served as a model for those that have since been enacted

mafters.

These first steps led the way to measures of greater importance. The old law, which forbad the exportation of all the productions of the kingdom, was still in force, and agriculture was discouraged by this absurd prohibition. The wise monarch removed these fatal impediments; expecting, not without reason, that a free exportation would restore to the nation those treasures which his imprudent expedition into Asia had lavished.

Some political events feconded these falutary views. Before the reign of St. Lewis, the kings of France had but few ports on the ocean, and one on the Mediterranean. The northern coasts were divided between the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Britany: the rest belonged to the English. The southern coasts were possessed by the Counts of Toulouse, and the kings of Majorca, Arragon, and Castile.

IV. not, without much difficulty, open a communication with the foreign markets. The union of the county of Toulouse with the crown, removed this great obflacle, at least with respect to a part of the

French territory. PHILIP, the fon of St. Lewis, in order to improve the advantages arifing from this acquilition, endeavoured to draw to Nismes, a city under his jurisdiction, part of the trade carried on at Montpellier, which belonged to the king of Arragon, The privileges he granted produced the defired effeet; but it was foon found that this fuccefs was not of much real advantage. The Italians filled the kingdom with spices, perfumes, filks, and all the rich stuffs of the East. The arts had not made fufficient progress in France to admit of their productions being offered in exchange, and the returns of agriculture were inadequate to the expences of fo many objects of luxury. A trade of fuch valuable articles could not be carried on without money, and there was but little in the kingdom, especially fince the expeditions of the Crufades: although France was then richer than most of the

other European nations.

Philip, furnamed The Fair, was fenfible of thefe truths, he found means to improve agriculture, so as to answer the demands of foreign importations, and these he reduced, by establishing new manufactures, and improving the old ones. Under this reign the ministry first undertook to guide the hand of the artist, and to direct his labours. The loreaddh, the quality, and the drefting of the cloths were fixed, the exportation of wool, which the neighbouring nations came to purchase in order to manufacture it, was prohibited. These were the least unreasonable measures that could be pursued in those times of ignorance.

Since that period, the progress of arts was BOOK proportioned to the decline of feu tyranny. The French, however, did not beginform their tafte till the time of their expeditionto Italy. They were dazzled with a multitude on objects that presented themselves at Genoa, lice, and The strictness observed lAnne of Bretagne, under the reigns of Charlet III and Lewis XII, at first restrained the congors from giving full scope to their proper fity for itation , but no sooner had Francis I invited twomen to court, no fooner had Catharine of Mess croffed the Alps, than the great affected anlegance unknown before fince the first foundation the monarchy The whole nation was feduciby this alluring example of luxury, and the imp ement of the manufactures was the natural confeence.

From Henry II to Henry IV the criwars, the unhappy divisions of religion, the igrance of government, the spirit of finance whichegan to have it's influence in the council, the branous and devouring avarice of men in business, neouraged by the protection they enjoyed, all the several crustes retarded the progress of industr, but could never destroy it. It revived with sreshplendour under the frugal administration of Sull. It was almost extinguished under that of Richelic and Mazarin, both governed by the farmers of the revenue, one wholly taken up with his ambitio for empire and his spirit of revenge, the other wit intrigue and plunder.

No king of France had ever ferroully confident it to the advantages that might accrue from a true to ages of the India, nor had the emulation of the French's in the Lulexcited by the luftre which other nations dequed had as from it. They confirmed more eaftern productions than any o her nation, they were as favourably fituated for procuring them it the first hand.

BOOK and yet the ere content to pay to foreign industry what rown might as well have partaken

Some mants of Rouen had ventured, indeed, in g, upon a fmall expedition, but Gonnevilleho commanded it, met with violent florms at Cape of Good Hope, was cast upon unknown ds, and with much difficulty got back

to Europe

In 16da focuety formed in Bretagne fitted out two ps, to endeavour to get a share, if possible, the riches of the East, which the Portenguese, English, and the Dutch, were contending Pyrard, who commanded these ships, arrived the Maldives, and did not return to his own corry till after an unfortunate navigation of ten yea.

A'n! company, headed by one Girard, a native offlanders fitted out some ships from Normandyor the island of Java, in 1616 and 1619 They turned with cargoes sufficient to indemnify the adinturers, but not to encourage them to any fresh identakings

Cabain Reginon, upon the expiration of this fruits grant in 1633, prevailed upon fome merchand of Dieppe, two years after, to enter upon a trak which might be productive of great riches, if piperly purified Fortune baffled the endeavour of the new adventurers. The only advantage graned by these repeated expeditions, was the high opinion that was conceived of Madagasfer, which till that time had been neglected by the Portiguese, the Dutch, and the English, who had not found there any of the objects which attracted that to the Tast

The favourable impression the French had received of this island, gave rife to a Company in 1642, which interded to make a considerable ser-

tlement

tlement upon it, with a view of fecuring to their BOOK thips the necessary refreshments for failing further. IV. The charter of this Company was to last twenty years; but the cruelties committed by it's agents, together with their many acts of perfidy and difhonesty, put an end to it's existence before the completion of that period. It's capital was confumed; and in return for all it's expences, it had nothing more than four or five hamlets, fituated along the coast, constructed with planks, covered in with leaves, furrounded with flakes, and decorated with the pompous name of forts, because there were a few batteries upon them. The defenders of these wretched buts were reduced to the number of one hundred robbers; whose tyranny daily increased the hatred that had been sworn against their nation. A few small districts, abandoned by the natives, and some rather more extenfive, from which a tribute of provisions was exacted by force; these were the only advantages that had been obtained.

THE Marshal de la Meilleraie seized upon these ruins, and conceived the project of restoring this ill-conducted undertaking for his own private emolument. He met with so little success, that his property sold but for 20,000 livres \*, which was

full as much as it was worth.

Ar length, in 1664, Colbert undertook to make An Eal Prance a sharer in the East India trade. There India were great inconveniencies attending this inter-isellable course with Asia. It could scarce furnish any thing ed in but articles of luxury; it retarded the progress of Encouthe arts which the French were labouring with so regenents much success to establish; it procured but very siren to futle vent for the national provisions and manusacciation, tures; and necessarily occasioned a great exporta-

\$331. 6s. 8d. \

2 O O K tion of specie Considerations of so important a nature, were cilculated to exette suspense in the mind of a minister, whose plans were pursued with no other view but to extend every branch of industry, and to add to the riches of the lingdom But the French, in immation of the other Europeans, displayed a determined taste for the luxures of the East It was thought that it would be more advantageous, and at the same time more honourable, to go in search of them across an immense ocean, than to receive them from rivals, perhaps from energies.

The mode of carrying this matter into execution, was already traced out. It was then a maxim
fo generally received, that fuch nice and complicated operations could only be managed by an excluffue charter, that the boldeft speculator would
not have called it in question. An East India
Company was therefore created, vested with all
the privileges enjoyed by those of Irolland and
England Colbert went still further, and, considering that for the purpose of carrying on great
commercial undertakings, there is naturally a degree of considence existing in republican governments, which cannot be expected in a monarchy,
had recourse to every expedient that could produce

A CHARTER was granted for fifty years, that the Company might be encouraged to form great fettlements, with a prospect of reaping the fruits of them

ALL foreigners advancing 20,000 livres \* were to be deemed Frenchmen, without the privilege of naturalization

On the like terms, officers, whatever corps, they belonged to, were allowed leave of abience,

without forfeiting the rights of their poft, or their BOOK

WHATEVER was wanted for the building, equipment, or victualling of the fnips, was to be exempted from all the duties of export or import, as well as from those of the admiralty.

(2)The government engaged to pay fifty livres per ton for all goods exported from France to India, and seventy-five livres + for every ton imported

from thence.

Ir was agreed, that the fettlements of the Company should be desended with a sufficient military force, and that their outward and homeward-bound ships should be furnished with as strong a convoy

as exigencies should require.

The ruling passion of the nation was made subfervient to this establishment. Hereditary titles and honours were promised to such as should distinguish themselves in the service of the Com-

pany.

As trade was yet in it's infancy in France, and was unable to furnish the fisteen millions \(\frac{1}{2}\) that were to constitute the stock of the new society, the ministry engaged to lend as far as three millions \(\frac{1}{2}\). The nobles, the magistrates, all orders of men, were invited to share the rest. The nation, proud to please their king, who had not yet crushed them with the weight of his salse greatness, came into the proposal with great eagerness.

MADAGASCAR was again destined to be the nursery of the new association. The repeated misfortunes experienced there, did not invalidate the idea of it's being the best basis for the vast edifice that was to be raised. In order to form a proper judgment of these views, we must endeayour to

\* 21. 15. 8d. - 31 25. 6d. \$\frac{1}{25},0001.

acquire

BOOK acquire as thorough a knowledge as possible of this
IV celebrated island

The
French
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Defeription of that

MADAGASCAR, which is separated from the continent of Africa by the Mozambique channel, is situated at the entrance of the Indian ocean, between the twelfth and twenty-fifth degree of latitude, and between the fixty-second and seventeth degree of longitude. It is three hundred and thrity-fix leagues in length, one hundred and twenty in it's greatest breadth, and about eight hundred in currumsference.

THE coasts of this great island are in general unwholesome, an evil arising from natural causes, and which might be remedied. The land which we inhabit, has been rendered wholesome merely by the labours of man In it's original flate, it was covered with forests and morasses, which corrupted the air. Such is the present state of Madagafcar. The rains, as in the other countries fituated under the tropics, are periodical They form rivers, which, in endeavouring to discharge themfelves into the ocean, find their mouths blocked up by fands, which the motion of the fea has driven there in the dry feafon, that is to fay, when the volume or rapidity of the waters is not fufficient to overcome this obstacle The waters, stopped by this barrier, flow back again into the plain. where they become stagnant for a certain time, and fill the horizon with destructive exhalations, till at length, furmounting the impediment by which they were confined, they procure themselves an We shall be convinced of this fact, if we confider that the coasts are unwholesome only in the rainy feafon; that the column of corrupted air never extends to any diffance, that, in the inland parts, the atmosphere is always pure, and the banks are always wholesome in those places where, from local local circumstances, the course of the rivers is un-BOOK interrupted.

By whatever winds the navigator may arrive at Madagascar, he meets with nothing but a barren fand. This sterility terminates at the distance of a league or two. Throughout the rest of the island, nature, in perpetual; vegetation, produces spontaneously, both in the forests and in the open grounds, cotton, indigo, hemp, honey, white-pepper, fago, bananas, the Amboyna cabbage, and the ravendsara, a kind of spice little known, with a multitude of other nutritious plants, foreign to our climates. 'The whole island is covered with palms, cacao, and orange trees, gum-plants, and woods fit for construction, and useful in all the arts. There is not, properly speaking, any kind of culture, except that of rice. The rushes that grow in the morasses are pulled up, and the seed is carelessly scattered on the ground Cattle are afterwards made to pass over it, which, by their trampling, push the grain into the foil: the rest is left to chance. There is another species of rice cultivated upon the mountains in the rainy feafon, and with as little care. These regions are not fertilized by the fweat of men's brows. The fruitfulness of the soil, increased by the prolific quality of the waters, must here be substituted to every kind of labour.

Oxen, sheep, hogs, and goats, feed day and might in the meadows, incellantly springing up aftrest, which nature has formed at Madagasar. Neither horses, nor buffaloes, nor camels, nor any kind of beast fit for burden or for the saddle, are to be met with here, though every thing seems to bespeak that they would prosper.

Ir has been an opinion too lightly adopted, that gold and filver were the produce of this island. But it is an established fact, that at no great difBOOK tance from the bay of Antongil, there are copper IV. mines that yield confiderably, and mines of very

pure iron in the inland parts

The origin of the inhabitants of Madagascar, as that of most other people, is lost in extravagant and fabulous accounts. Whether they be natures of the island, or have been transplanted there, is a question which, in all probability, will never be decided. We cannot, however, avoid thinking, that they are not all derived from one common stock, when we consider the different forms by which they are distinguished.

This variety certainly depends upon the general manner in which thands are formed. In times anterior to the origin of navigation, they have all been connected with fome continent, from which they have been feparated by those natural commotions that are but too frequently renewed. If the island hath been suddenly broken off, we shall find only one race of men upon it. If the adjacent countries have been threatened with this separation a long time before it has taken place, the imminent danger will have set all the different people in motion; and each of them will have slocked in crowds to the spot where they expected to be most secure. In the mean while, the dreadful phænomenon will have happened; and the portion of land that had been surrounded with water, will contain different races of men, having neither the same complexion nor the same stature, nor speaking the same language.

We have every reason to think, that this has been the case with the island of Madagascar. In the western part of the island, we find a people called Quimos, who are in general not more than four feet high, and who never grow beyond four feet four inches. It is supposed, that they are now reduced to fifteen thousand fouls; though they must

have been more numerous before the destructive BOOK and unfortunate war, which obliged them to quit the spot on which they had first settled. Being driven from their country, they took refuge in a very fertile valley, furrounded with freep rocks, where they live, without having any intercourse with their neighbours. When their former conquerors unite to attack them in this fortunate fituation, they drive a great number of oxen to the borders of these mountains. The enemy, who had no other fpoil in view, feize upon the cattle, and lay down their arms, to take them up again, when they can fucceed in forming another confederacy sufficiently powerful, to induce the Quamos to purchase peace anew.

This expedient, which is adapted to these weak and timid people, would by no means be fuitable to a powerful nation. The publianimous fovereign or minister who purchases peace, invites his enemy to make war, and strengthens him for the purpose with all the money he gives, while he weakens himfelf in the same proportion. He is a bad politician, who conducts himfelf as if he had only a few years to live, and who is very little folicitous of the

fate of the empire after his death.

MADAGASCAR is divided into feveral colonies, more or less numerous, and independent of each other. Each of these feeble communities lives in a district that belongs to it, and is governed by it's own laws. A confiderable degree of authority is lodged in a chief, who is elective in some places, hereditary in others, and sometimes a usurper. He cannot, however, engage in war without the confent of the principal members of the state, nor support it without the voluntary contributions and "exertions of his people.

THE stripping of the cultivated lands, the stealing of cattle, and the carrying off of women and Vor. II. children. BOOK children, are the ordinary cause of their divisions.

IV. These rustic people are tormented with the rage of acquiring possessions by unjust and violent measures, as strongly as the most civilized nations are. Their hostilities are not destructive, but the prisoners are

always made flaves. THE people of Madagascar have not a very comprehensive idea of the right of property, from whence an inclination for labour is derived, and which is the principle of defence and of submission to government. Reasons of discontent, convenience, or necessity, easily prevail upon them to quit the fpot they live on for another, which is either more fertile, or at a greater distance from their enemies. It frequently happens, even that an inhabitant of Madagascar leaves his country, merely from motives of caprice; and changes his relidence again upon any new fancy, or when he is apprehensive of punishment for some outrageous act, or for some thest. He is certain of finding lands to cultivate wherever he goes; for they are never parcelled out. The grounds are usually sown by the community, who afterwards there the produce Civil right is therefore of little confequence in these regions, but political right is still more confined. ALTHOUGH the people of Madagascar admit

political right is still more confined.

ALTHOUGH the people of Madagascar, admit the preyailing doctrine of the two principles, yet they have, but a confused idea of it, nor have they any form of worship whatever. They have not the least conception of the existence of another life, and yet they believe in ghosts: but i we are not to expect ideas more connected among barbarians, than we meet with among the most enlightened nations. The most stall of their prejudices is that which has settled lucky and unlucky, days; by which children that are iborn under unfavourable auspices are inhumanly put to death. This

is a cruel, error, which hinders or deftroys popula-BOOK tion.

Frw people bear pain and affliction with fo much patience as the inhabitants of Madagascar. Even the approach of death, the consequence of which their education hath not taught them to fear, never disturbs them .: They expect the, instant of their dissolution, a period so distressing to us, with a degree of relignation which it is not easy to conceive. It is perhaps a comfort to them to be affured, that they shall not be forgotten, when they are no more. The inhabitants of these savage regions entertain a very high sense of the respect that is due to their ancestors. It is a common thing to see men of all ages go to weep over the grave of their fathers, and to ask advice of them in the

most interesting actions of their life.

THESE robust, and rather well-made islanders, have not the same indifference for the present as they have for the future. As they are never re-Atrained in their inclinations by the ties of morality or religion, or by that enlightened kind of police which puts a stop to the propensities of men, in order to establish the order of society, they are entirely devoted to their passions. They include with rapture in festivals, singing, dancing, and frong liquors, and are extravagantly addicted to women. Every instant of an idle sedentary life, free from the cravings of want, is diffipated in fenfual pleafures, which are denied by nature to the favages of the north, who exhauft their powers 'in the fearch of food necessary for their miserable and precarious existence. Beside the wife whom they marry in ceremony, the inhabitants of Madagafear take as many concubines as they can get. Divorce is common among them, though nothing be so rare as jealousy. Most of them, indeed, esteem themselves honoured in having illegitimate children. BOOK children, when they are of a white race The

The fplendour of the origin compensates for the obliquity of the birth

We may perceive a beginning of knowledge and industry among these people. With filk, cotton, and thread made of the barks of trees, they manufacture some stuffs. They are not entirely ignorant of the art of melting and forging iron. Their earthen ware is rather agreeable to the eye. In several districts, they practite the mode of expressing their thoughts in writing. They have even books of history, physic, and astrology, committed to the care of their Ombis, who have been improperly considered as priests, and who, in fact, are imposfers, who style themselves, and perhaps believe themselves to be, forcerers. This kind of knowledge, which is more distincted in the western part than in the rest of the island, has been brought by the Arabs, who have traded there from time immemorial.

A FFW distinct acts of anger and rage, committed in the height of some violent passion, have been sufficient to calumniate the whole island of Madagascar, and stigmatize it's inhabitants with the title of ferocious 1 On the contrary, they are naturally fociable, lively, cheerful, vain, and even impressed with sentiments of gratitude. All travellers, who have penetrated into the interior part of the island, have been kindly, received there, a lifted in their wants, treated as men and brethren Upon the coafts, where mittrust is usually more prevailing, the navigators have rarely experienced any acts of violence or perfidy. Four and twenty Arabian families, which, for a number of generations, had usurped the empire in the province of Anosh, had enjoyed it for a long time unmolested, till they were deprived of it in 1771, without either expulsion, massacre, or oppression In a word, the language of these islanders readily adapts itself B O O K to express sentiments of the utmost tenderness; 11.

and this circumstance alone is calculated to give us a very savourable impression of the softness of their manners, and of their social turn.

Such was the state of Madagascar, when four Conduct French vessels arrived there, in 1665. The Corn of the pany that had sent them out was resolved to form a Madagas solid establishment on this island. The project was ear, wise, and it did not appear that the execution of it Whatther

would be expensive.

ALL the colonies which the Europeans have have done established in America, to obtain the produce of there. that part of the world; or all those they have fixed at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the isles of France, of Bourbon, and St. Helena, for the cultivation of their commerce to the Indies, have required enormous expences, a long space of time, and considerable labours. Many of these countries were entirely desert, and in others there were only found inhabitants, whom it was impossible to render useful. Madagascar, on the contrary, presented a soil naturally fertile, and a numerous, traclable, and untelligent set of inhabitants, who wanted only instruction to enable them effectually to assist in any purpose that was intended.

THESE islanders were haraffed with the state of war and anarchy in which they continually lived. They ardently wished for a police which might make them enjoy peace and liberty. It was no matter of doubt, but that with dispositions to favourable, they would readily concur in any attempts.

made to civilize them.

NOTHING was more easy than to have made this island of considerable utility. With proper attention, Madagascar might have produced a multitude of commodities fit for India, for Persia, for Arabia, and for the continent of Africa. By in-

viting

BOOK viting a few Indians and Chinese to this spot, all the arts and cultures of Asia would have been naturalized in the island. It was easy to construct ships there, because materials were to be found for this purpose of the best quality, and in plenty; and they might even have been readily equipped, because the inhabitants displayed a turn for navigation. All these innovations would have acquired more folidity than the conquests of the Europeans in the East Indies can ever, have; for the natives of those regions will never adopt our laws, our manners, or our mode of worship; and consequently they will never have that kind of favourable disposition, which attaches people to a new form of government.

Ir was impossible that so fortunate a revolution could have been effected by violence. A numerous, brave, and uncivilized people, would never have submitted to the chains with which a sew barbarous-foreigners might have wished to load them? It was by the soft mode of persusion; it was by the seducing prospect of happiness; it was by the allurements of a quiet life; it was by the advantages of our police, by the enjoyments attending our industry, and by the superiority of our talents, that the whole siland was to be brought to concur in a plan equally advantageous to both nations.

The fistem of legislation which it would have been proper to give to these people, should have been adapted to their manners, their character, and their climate. It must have been in every respect the reverse of the legislation of Europe, corrupted and embarrassed by the battariss of seudal customs. However simple this system might have been, the several parts could only have been proposed successively, and in proportion as the understanding of the people should have become enlight-

ened and improved. Perhaps, it might even have B o o K been proper to lay afide all thoughts of conciliating IV.

to it the minds of those men in whom age had firengthened the prejudices of custom; perhaps it might have been necessary to endeayour to make

might have been necessary to endeavour to make partizans only of young men, who, formed by our institutions, would, in process of time, have become political missionaries, and might have increased the number of proselytes to the system of government.

THE grand fyshem of civilization would still have been promoted, by the intermarriage of the women of the island with the French colonists. This tie, so endearing, and of so tender a nature, would have extinguished those octous distinctions, which cherish perpetual hatred and everlasting division, between people who inhabit the same region, and live under the same laws.

IT would have been repugnant to every fyftem of equity and policy, to feize arbitrarily upon any district of land, in order to fix new families upon it. The nation affembled should have been asked for those lands which were unoccupied; and, in order to give more folidity to the acquifition, Government might have given a price for them which would have been agrecable to these islanders. These lands, thus legitimately acquired, would for the first time have been legally possessed; and the right of property would gradually have been established from one person to another. In process of time, the several colonies of Madagascar would readily have adopted an innovation, the advantages of which cannot be rendered less conspicuous by the effect of any prejudice.

The more useful the colonies that might have been founded at Madagascar were like to prove, the more proper it was to choose situations well adapted to the purpose of cultivating, extending, encouraging, BOOK couraging, and preferving these advantages. Exclusive of a settlement which it would, perhaps, have been expedient to form in the interior part of the island, in order to obtain the confidence of the inhabitants in the first instance; it was indispensibly necessary to form four upon the coast. One at . Saint Austin's Bay, which would have opened an easy communication with the continent of Africa: another at Luquez, where a confiderable and a conflant degree of heat would have made all the plants of India prosper; the third at Fort Dauphin, which, from it's mild and wholefome temperature, was well calculated for the cultivation of corn, and of most European productions: and lastly, the fourth at Tametave, the most fertile, populous, and best cultivated diffrict of the country. This last position deferved even the preference of being made the capital of the colony; and for the following reafons.

THERE is no harbour known at Madagascar, It is a mistake to suppose, that it would be possible to form one at Fort Dauphin, by railing a pier upon some shoals which advance into the sea. The labour attending such an enterprize would not only be immense, but the expense would also be useless. It would be impossible that ships which cannot be defended from the hurricanes by the mountains themselves, should ever be sheltered by a pier. Belides, this factitious port, open in part to the fury of the waves, would necessarily be of small extent. The ships would have no fea room; and if once loofened from their anchors, would all run aground; and they would perish without resource upon a coast, where the sea is constantly agitated, and where the fands are in continual motion.

The fituation at Tametave is different. The bay, when freed from that inconvenient bar, which extends along all the eaftern coast of Madagascar,

is very spacious. The anchorage is good, and the BOOK vessels are sheltered from the hardest winds. The landing is easy. If the bed of the great river, that dicharges itself into the bay, were to be digged for the space of a league and a half, ships of the largest burden might then be brought up to the lake of Nossels. Where nature has formed an excellent harbour. In the midst of it is an island, the air of which is very pure, and which might be easily defended. There is one fortunate curcumstance in this situation, which is, that with a sew

precautions, the entrance of it might be shut against an enemy's squadrons.

Such were the advantages which the French Company might have derived from Madagascar. The conduct of their agents unfortunately destroyed these brilliant expectations Lost to every sense of shame, they secreted part of the funds intrusted to their management; they wasted still more confiderable fums in useless and ridiculous expences; they made themselves equally odious to the Europeans, whole labours they ought to have encouraged; as to the natives of the country, whom they should have gained over by gentleness and by favours. Acts of iniquity and misfortunes were multiplied to fuch a degree, that in 1670 the members' of the Company thought proper to refign into the hands of government a possession which they held, from it's gift. The change of administration did not produce better management. Most of the French who had remained in the illand were man-facred two years after. Those who had escaped this memorable butchery, withdrew themselves for ever from a foil which was less stained with their blood than with their crimes.

Ar different and diffant intervals the court of Verfailles has had an eye upon Madagafear, but without ever being fensible of it's real value. It BOOK was necessary that France should lose all her trade, IV. and all her confideration in India, in order to be thoroughly fatisfied of the importance of an island, the polletion of which would probably have preferred her from these calamities. Since this fatal period, the French have shewn a defire to form a fettlement upon it. They ought not to be discouraged by the ill fuccess of the two attempts of 1770' and 1773, because these were made without plan, and without means; and that instead of employing in them the superfluous inhabitants of Bourbon, a tet of pacific and wife men, inured to the climate, none but vagabonds collected from the fourn of Europe were fent there. Measures more prudent and better concerted cannot fail of having the. defired effect. It is not from motives of policy alone that the French (hould strive against 'the difficulties inseparable from such an enterprize; the voice of humanity should speak louder, and with greater energy than that of interest.

What glory would it be for France to raise a numerous people from the horrors of batbarism; to give them decent manners, a well regulated policy, wise laws, a beneficent religion; to introduce among them the agreeable as well as the useful arts, and to raise them to the rank of enlightened and civilized inations! Statesmen, may the wishes of philosophy, may the wishes of a citizen, awaken your attention! If it be a glorobis act to change the sace of the universe, in order to increase general felicity; and if the honour that results from it belong to those who hold the reins of empire; let me miorm you that they are equally accountable to the present age, and to suture generations, not only for all the mischief they may do, but likewise for all the good which they might do, and have neglected. If you be desirous of real glory among your cotemporaries whe mand desired fame than that

which I propose can you be in pursuit of? If you's o'o'k' with to immortalize your name, consider, that IV, monuments of bronze are more or less rapidly destroyed by time. Intrust the care of your reputation to beings who will perpetuate it by regeneration. The statue is silent, but mankind will speak. Let them, therefore, speak of your with praise. It corruption should afterwards infinuate itself into the wise system of legislation you have established, then it is that you will be truly revered. The age in which you lived will be called to mind, and tears will be bestowed upon your memory. Tears of admiration will be shed for you during your life, and tears of regret, many ages after your death.

THE India Company had not fuch elevated views, when in 1670 they thought proper to abandon Madagascar. "At that period it was that their ships failed directly to India. By the intrigues of Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but in the French interest, they obtained leave to establish sactories in several places on the coast of the peninsula. They even attempted to secure a share of the Japan trade. Colbert offered to send none but protessans; but by the artifaces of the Dutch, the French were denied an entrance into that empire, as the English had been before.

SURAT had been pitched upon for the center of The all the bufines which the Company was to carry French on in the parts. It was from this capital of Gu-rat the zarat that all orders were to be iffued for the inference of fettlements; and there it was that the differ their ent merchandife deflined for Europe was to be collected.

GUZAKAT forms a peninfula between the Indus Account and Malabar. It is about one hundred and fixty of the miles in length, and nearly the fame in breadth. It in which is separated from the kingdom of Agra by the this city is mountains.

BOOK mountains of Arva. There is not a province in

IV. Indostan in which the soil is more fertile, better

watered, or intersected by a greater number of
rivers. It were to be wished, that the chimate were
not burnt up during three months in the year, by
a most violent south wind. This country was al-

not burnt up during three months in the year, by a most violent fouth wind. This country was already in possession of great advantages, when a for reign colony came to increase it's prosperity. In the feventh century, the last king of Persia, of the dynasty of the Sanasides, was dethroned by the Mohammedans. Several of his subjects, diffatisfied with the conqueror, took refuge in the province of Sablustan, from whence, a century after, they came to the island of Ormus, short time they set fail for India, and landed fortunately at Diu. Not contented still with this afylum, they reimbarked; and the waves drove them upon a pleasant shore between Daman and Baçaim. The prince who governed that district confented to receive them, on condition only that they should reveal the mysteries of their faith; that they should lay down their arms, that they should speak the language of the country, that their women should go abroad unveiled, and that they should celebrate their nuptials at the close of the evening, according to the custom of the country. As these stipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions, the people who fled there for protection agreed to them. A piece of ground was allotted them, where they built a town, from whence they foon spread further up the

A HABIT of labour happily contracted by necessity made them prosper. Prudent enough not to interfere with affairs of government or war, they enjoyed a prosound tranquillity in the mids of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In consequence of this circums pection, and of the affluence in which they lived, their numbers.

ber increased considerably. They always remain-is 0.0 K ed a separate people, distinguished by the name of Parses, never intermatrying with the Indians, and adhering to the religious principles which had obliged them to quit their country. Their tenets were those of Zoroaster, somewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciousness of the priess.

THE industry and activity of the new inhabitants, communicated itself to the hospitable nation that had so wisely given them an asylum. Sugar, corn, indigo, and other productions were naturalized upon a foil, which before had been -principally covered with rice grounds. The fruits of the earth, and cattle were multiplied, varied, and brought to perfection. The fields of India displayed, for the first time, those hedges, inclofures, and other useful and rural objects which embellish and enrich some of our regions. Manufactures made an equal progress with cultivation, Cotton assumed a more beautiful appearance, and filk was at length manufactured in the province. The increase of sublistence, of labour, and of population, extended, in process of time, foreign connections

The splendour of Guzarat excited the ambition of two formidable powers. While the Portuguese annoyed it on the side of the sea by the ravages they committed, by the victories they gained, and by the conquest of Diu, justly esteemed the bulwark of the kingdom; the Moguls, already masters of the north of India, and eager to advance towards the southern parts where trade and riches were to be sound, threatened it from the continent.

BADUR, a Patan by birth, who then reigned over Guzarat, faw how impossible it would be for him at once to withstand two such enemies, equally DOOK bent upon his destruction. He thought he had less to fear from a people whose forces were separated from his dominions by immense seas, than from a nation firmly settled on the frontiers of his provinces. This consideration made him determine to be reconciled with the Portuguese. The concessions he made induced them to join with him against Akbar, whose activity and courage they dreaded little less than he did.

This alliance disconcerted men who thought they had only Indians to deal with. They could not think of engaging with Europeans, who were reputed invincible. The natives, not yet recovered from the consternation into which these conquerors had thrown them, represented them to the Mogul foldiers as men come down from heaven, or nien from the waters, of a species infinitely fuperior to the Afiatics, and far furpassing them in valour, genius, and knowledge. The army, feized with a panic, was urging the generals to march back to Delhi, when Akbar, convinced that a prince who undertakes a great conquest must command his own forces, hastened to his .camp. He did not hesitate to promise his troops that they should subdue a people enervated by luxarry, riches, pleasures, and the heat of the cli-.mate; and that the glory of putging Alia of that handful of banditti was referved for them. The army, thus encouraged, expressed their satisfaction, and marched on with confidence. They foon came to an engagement; the Portuguese, ill seconded by their allies, were furrounded and cut to pieces; Eadur fled, and never appeared again. All the cities of Guzarat hastened to open their gates to the conqueror. This fine kingdom, in 1565, became a province of that vaft empire which was foon to fubdue all Indoftan.

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

UNDER the Mogul government, which was BOOK then in it's full glory, Guzarat enjoyed more tran-quillity than before. This state of security gave a new impulse to every individual. All the pow-

ers of the mind were unfolded; and every species of industry acquired a degree of improvement before unknown. It became necessary to find a staple where all these treasures were to be collected :

and Surat came into possession of this valuable prerogative. AT the beginning of the thirteenth century, Su- Origin

rat was nothing more than a mean hamlet, con-and progress of fifting of fome fishermen's huts, standing upon the Surat. river Tapti, at a few miles distance from the ocean. The advantage of it's fituation drew there fome workmen and some merchants. They were plundered three or four times by pirates; and it was to put a stop to these destructive inroads, that a fortres was built in 1524. At this period, the place acquired a degree of importance which had confiderably increased, when the Moguls made themfelves mafters of it. As this was the only maritime town which had then submitted to their yoke, they contracted the habit of providing themselves with all their articles of luxury from thence. 'On the other hand, the Europeans, who had not any of the great fettlements they have fince made at Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel, bought most

of their Indian merchandise there. They were all collected at this spot, as the people of Surat had taken care to form a navy superior to that of their neighbours.

THEIR ships, which lasted for ages, were mostly of a thousand or twelve hundred tons burthen. They were built of a very strong wood called Teck. In-· stead of launching them with a costly apparatus and complicated engines, they let the tide into the dock, as we have done fince, and thus fet them

BOOK affoat. The cordage was made of the outward bark of the cocoa-tree; it was rougher and less pliable than ours, but at least as strong. If their cotton fails were neither fo firong nor fo lafting as our hempen ones, they were more easily folded, and less apt to be torn. Instead of pitch, they made use of the gum of a tree called Damar, which was as good, or better. The skill of their officers, though but moderate, was sufficient for the seas and the seasons in which they failed. With regard to their failors, commonly called Lascars, the Europeans have found them ferviceable in their voyages from one part of India to another. They have even been employed successfully in bringing home into our flormy latitudes such ships as had lost their creus.

WHEN we hardly suspected that commerce was founded on any certain principles, we found that these principles were already known and practised in this part of Afia. Money was to be had there at a low price, and bills of exchange might be obtained for every market in India. Infurances for the most distant navigations were very common. Such was the honesty of these traders, that bags of money, ticketed and fealed by the bankers, would circulate for years, without ever being counted or weighed. Fortunes were proportioned to the facility with which they were to be acquired by industry. Those of five or fix millions\* were not uncommon, and fome were even more confiderable.

Manners

THESE fortuges were mostly possessed by the of the in- Banians, a fet of traders noted for their honesty. of burst. A few moments were fufficient for them to complete the most important concerns. These were generally transacted in the public markets. The person who wished to sell, announced in few words, and in a low voice, the value of his mer-

About 240,000l, on an average,

chandise He was answered by another man BOOK taking hold of his hand in a concealed manner The buyer used to fignify, by the number of fingers which he bent, or extended, how much less than the price required he meant to give, and thus the bargain was most frequently concluded, without a fingle word having passed between the parties In order to ratify it, the contractors used to take hold of each other's hand a fecond time, and an agreement made with this degree of fimplicity was always inviolable. If difficulties arofe, a circumstance which very rarely happened, these prudent men preserved, in the most complicated discussions, an evenness of temper, and a degree of politeness, which it would not be easy for us to form any conception of

Their children, who affifted at all bargains, were early trained to this gentleness of manners. Upon the first dawning of reason, they were initiated into all the mysteries of trade. It was a common thing to see a child, of ten or tivelve years old, able to supply his falter's place. What a contrast, what a difference, between this and the education of our children, and yet, what a distance between the attainments of the Indians.

and the progress of our knowledge!

Such of the Banians as had Abyfinian flaves, a circumflance, very uncommon among the good natured men, treated them with a degree of humanicy which much appear ingoin or or They brought them up as if they had been of their own family, truned them to buffiness, advanced them money to enable them to trade for themselves, and not only fuffered them to enjoy the profis, but even allowed them to dispose of these advantages in fivour of their descendents, if they had any

Vor II.

THE expences of the Banians were not pro-BOOK portioned to their fortunes As they were restrained by the principles of their religion from eating meat, or drinking ftrong liquors, they lived upon fruits, and a few plain diffies. They never departed from this frugality, except upon the fettlement of their children On this fingle occasion, no expence was spared for the entertainment, the music, the dancing, and the fireworks. Their whole ambition was to tell how much the wedding had coft. Sometimes it

amounted to a hundred thousand crowns . EVEN their women had a talte for this simplicity of manners; and all their ambition confifted in making themselves agreeable to their husbands. Perhaps the great veneration, in which they held the nuptial tie, arose from the custom of marrying them in their earliest infancy. That sentiment was, in their opinion, the most sacred part of their religion. They never allowed themselves the least conversation with strangers. Less reserve would not have fatisfied their hufbands, who could not hear, without aftonishment, of the familiarity that prevailed between the two fexes in Europe. When they were told, that this freedom was attended with no ill consequence, they were not convinced; but shook their heads, and answered by one of their proverbs, which fignifies, That if you bring butter too near the fire, you can burdly keep it from melting.

WITH different cuftoms, the Parfees had still a more respectable character. They were robust, handsome, and indefatigable men, adapted to all kinds of labour, but excelling particularly in the building of ships, and in agriculture. Such was their mildness and upright conduct, that

they were never called up before a magistrate for BOOK any act of violence, or any fraudulent contract. IV. their features, and in every look; and their converfation was animated by a temperate cheerfulness. They delighted in rhymes, and seldom spoke, even about the most serious affairs, otherwife than in verse. They had no fixed place of worship; but they used to assemble every morning and evening upon the high road, or near a fountain, to adore the rifing and the fetting fun. Even the fight of the least spark of fire interrupted all their occupations, and excited their fenfibility, in the contemplation of that beneficent · luminary. Instead of burning the bodies of their dead, as the Indians did, they deposited them in towers of an extreme height, where they ferved as food to birds of prey. Their predilection for the followers of their religion, did not prevent them from being moved with the afflictions of all men, whom they affifted with generofity. Their pity extended itself even to animals. One of their most favourite inclinations was to buy slaves, to give them a good education, and to restore them afterwards to liberty. Their number, their union with each other, and their riches, fornetimes rendered them suspicious to government; but these prejudices never prevailed for any length of time, against the peaceable and regular conduct of these good people. The only thing they could be censured for, was, a disgusting uncleanliness, under the appearance of the most refined nearness, and a too frequent use of an intoxicating kind of liquor, peculiar to themselves. Such were the Parfees at their arrival in India; fuch have they maintained themselves in the midst of the revolutions that have so frequently overturn-

Da

BOOKed the afglum they had chosen; and such do they.

How widely distant were the Moguls from these pure and austere manners! No sooner had these Mohammedans acquired the possession of Surat, than they embarked in multitudes to go to Mecca. Several of these pilgrims used to stop at the Port before their voyage; and a still greater number at their return. The conveniences of life, which were more multiplied in this famous city than in the rest of the empire, even induced many of the most opulent to fix their residence there. Their days were spent in indolence, or in pleasure. One part of the morning was employed in taking pains to arch their eye-brows, to fettle their beards, and to paint their nails, and the infide of their hands. The rest of the day was devoted to riding on horseback, smoking, drinking coffee, or perfurning themselves; or was spent in reclining upon beds of roles, to hear fabulous flories recounted, and in cultivating the poppy, a kind of amusement which had the most powerful attractions for them.

The entertainments in which these voluptuous men frequently indulged themselves, in order to prevent the tredum of a too uniform kind of life, were begun by an altonishing profusion of refreshments, sweetmeats, and the most exquisite, persumes. These quiet amusements were followed by feats of strength, or agility usually exercised by the natives of Bengal. These were succeeded by music, which might, perhaps, have been grating to a nice ear, although these orientalists delighted in it. The night was uffered in by sireworks of a less glaring light than our's, and the rest of it was extrassfeed by successive bands of dancers, more or less numerous according to the rank or opulence of those in whose service they

every artifice practifed in these regions, to heighten

were engaged. When a fatiety of pleasures in-BOOK vited to repose, a kind of violin was introduced, which by soft, uniform, and frequently repeated sounds, lulled them to sleep. The most corrupt of them used to throw themselves into the arms of some young Abyshinan slave, and employed

this most infamous of all passions. THE women were never admitted to these diversions, but they had also their dancers to themfelves, and indulged in other amusements. The preference which their hufbands generally gave to courtezans, flifled in their heart every fentiment of affection to them, and confequently of jealoufy among themselves. Accordingly, they lived together in a tolerable state of harmony. They even went so far as to rejoice when any new companion was announced to them, because this was an increase of their society. Nevertheless they had a great influence in all important affairs, and a Mogul was almost always determined by the advice of his harem. Such of these wives as had no children, frequently went out to vifit relations of their own fex. The rest might have enjoyed the fame liberty, had they not preferred the honour of their fons, which is fingularly made to depend upon the opinion entertained of the virtue of their mothers. They educated their children themselves with much care and tenderness, and

be magnificence and conveniences could supply the place of love and, sentiment, a harem would have been a most delightful place of residence; every thing that could incite agreeable sensations, was lavished, with profusion in these retreats, impenetrable to man. I The pride of the Moguls had even ordained, that the women

never parted from them, not even when they

quitted: their father's house.

BOOK who should be admitted to visit them, should be presented with very rich presents the first time of their coming, and should always meet with a reception agreeable to the voluptuous tafte of thefe climates. The European ladies, whose familiarity with the other fex was revolting to Afiatic prejudices, and who for that reason were thought to be of a very inferior tribe, were feldom allowed to penetrate into this kind of fanctuary. One of them, well known in England by her talents, her graces, and her spirit of observation was distinguished from the rest. The preserence granted to Mrs. Draper enabled her to see and examine every thing. She did not find in these unhappy women, living in a state of confinement, that air of disdain or embarrassiment, which the little opportunity of exerting their faculties might have given them. Their manners appeared to her

guifhed by simplicity and softness.

ALTHOUGH the other nations settled at Surat did not carry every species of voluptuousness to exces, as the Moguls did, yet they were not without their pleasures, in a city where the public edifices were generally deficient in taste and symmetry. Private houses had, indeed, no kind of appearance; but in all those belonging to opulent persons, gardens were seen filled with the most beautiful slowers; subternancous dwellings contrived against the intense heats prevailing through part of the year; and falloons, where sountains were playing in basons of matble, and whech, by their tressness and murmurings, invited them to soft recode.

frank and easy; and their conversation was distin-

One of the customs most universally adopted, was bathing; and after the bath, the body was rubbed, or kneaded, as it were, like dough. This operation gave a spring to the different parts

of the body, and an easy circulation to the fluids. B O O K
The person who had undergone it thought himfelf almost a new being. The fort of harmony
which it re-established throughout all the machine, led to a kind of intoxication, which excited an infinite variety of delightful sensations.
This custom was said to be brought into India
from China; and some epigrams of Martial, and
declamations of Seneca, seem to hint, that it was
not unknown to the Romans at the time when
they refined upon every pleasure, as the tyrants
who enslaved those masters of the world afterwards
refined upon every torture.

THERE was another pleasure, still of a higher Descriptinature, perhaps, at Surat. This was derived one from it's semale dancers, or Balliaderes, a name derive which the Europeans have always given them, more one of the contraction of the con

from the Portuguele.

NUMBERS of these are collected together in feminaries of pleasure. The most accomplished of these societies are devoted to the richest and most frequented Pagodas. Their destination is to dance in the temples on their great festivals. and to be subservient to the pleasures of the Bramins. These priests, who have not taken the arr-. ful and deceitful vow of renouncing the enjoyment of all pleasures, in order to have an opportunity of indulging in them more freely, chuse rather to have women of their own, than at once to defile the state of celibacy or wedlock. They do not invade another man's right by adultery, but are so highly jealous of the dancers, whose worship and sows they share with the gods, that they never fuffer them, without reluctance, to contribute to the amusement even of kings and great men.

The rife of this fingular inflitution is not known. Probably one Bramin, who had a con-

cubine.

BOOK cubine, or a wife, affociated with another Bramin, who had likewife his conqubine, or his wife, and, in process of time, the mixture of formany Bramins and women occasioned so many acts of insidelity, that the women became common to all those priests. Let but a number of single persons, of both sexes, be collected in a cloyiter, and a commonalty of men and women will soon take place.

By this mutual intercourse jeasousy was probably extinguished, and the women were not unearly at the increase of their numbers, nor the Bramins at that of their order. It was rather a new

conquest than a rivalship

It is no less probable, that, in order to pallate the infamy of this licentionlines in the eyes of the people, all these women were confectrated to the service of the altar, and that the people readily confented to this kind of superstition, as it insured their wives and daughters from feduction, by confining the lawless desires of these Monks to one

particular fpot

The contrivance of stamping a facred character upon these courtezins, might possibly make parents the more willing to part with their beaufull daughters, and to consent that they should follow their calling, and devote themselves to these seminaries, from whence the superannated women might return to society without disgrace, for there is no crime that may not be sanctified, no virtue that may not be debased, by the intervention of the gods. The very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of a crafty pitest, be made subsersive of all morality. He will affirm, not that such a thing is pleasing to the Gods, because it is gleasting to the Gods.

The Bramins wanted only to gain another B.O.O.K. point, in order to complete this influtution; which was, to perfuade the people that it was decent, holy, and pleafing to the Gods, to marry a Balladere in preference to all other women, and confequently to induce them to folicit the remains of their, debaucheries as a particular mark of

In every city there are other companies, not so select as the former, for the amulement of the rich, and others for their wives. Persons of every religion, and of every cast, may employ them. There are even strolling companies of them, conducted by old women, who, having been themselves trained up in these seminaries, are promot-

ed in time to the direction of them.

THESE handlome girls have the cuftom, as singular as it is disgustral, of being always followed by an old deformed musician, whose employment is to beat time with an instrument of brass, which the Europeans have lately borrowed of the Turks to add to their military music, and which in India is called a tam. The man who holds it, is continually repeating that word with such vehemence, that by degrees he works himself up into dreadful convulsions; while the Balliaderes, intoxicated with the desire of pleasing, and the sweets with which they are persumed, are at length transported beyond their senses.

Thur dances are, in general, love pantomimes: the plan, the defign, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence of thefe ballets, are all expressive of this patient, with all it's raptures and

extravagances.

favour.

EVERY thing conspires to the amazing success of these voluptuous women; the art and tichness of their attire, as well as their ingenuity in setting off their beauty. Their long black hair falling

BOOK over their fhoulders, or braided and turned up, is
Noted by the diamonds, and fluck with flowers
Their necklaces and bracelets are enticled with

Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched with precious frones. Even their note jewels, an ornament which shocks us at first light, has fomething pleasing in it, and sets off all the other ornaments by a certain symmetry, the effect of which, though inexplicable, is yet sensibly selt by

degrees Nothing can equal the care they take to preferve their breafts, as one of the most striking marks of their beauty To prevent them from growing large or ill shaped, they inclose them in two cales, made of an exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind These cases are so smooth and so supple, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, and without injuring the delicacy of the fkin The outlide of these cases is covered with a leaf of gold fludded with diamonds This is certainly one of the most refined kind of ornaments, and the best calculated to preserve beauty. They take it off and put it on again with fingular facility This covering of the breast does not prevent the palpitations, heavings, and tender emotions of it from being perceived it conceals no-

thing that can contribute to excite defire
Most of these dancers imagine it an addition
to the beauty of their complexion, and the impression of their looks, to trace a black circle
round their eyes with a hur bodkin, dipped in
the powder of antimiony. This borrow ed beauty,
celebrated by all the castern poets, and which appeared very singular at first to the Europeans,
has at length become perfectly agreeable to
them.

The whole life, the whole employment, the whole felicity of the Balliaderes, confifts in the art

of pleafing. It is not eafy to relift their feducing BOOK manners. They are even preferred to those beauties of Cassimere, who fill the seraglios of Indostan, as the fair Georgians and Circassians do those of Ispahan and Constantinople. The modesty, or rather the referve of proud flaves, sequestered from the fociety of men, cannot balance the miraculous

arts of these expert courtezans. They were no where so much in repute as at Extent of Surat, the richest and most populous city in India. the com-It began to decline in 1664; and was pillaged by Surat. the famous Sevagi, who carried off twenty-five or Revolutithirty millions. The plunder would have been ons it has infinitely greater, had not the English and Dutch ed. escaped the public calamity, by the care they had taken to fortify their factories, and had not the

most valuable effects been lodged in the castle,

which was out of the enemy's reach. This loss made the inhabitants more cautious. They built walls round the city to prevent the like misfortune, the effects of which were removed, when the English, in 1686, with shameful and inexcufable rapacity, stopped all the ships that were fitting out at Surat to be dispatched to the several feas. This piracy, which lasted three years, deprived this famous mart of almost every branch of trade that was not it's own peculiar property. The town was nearly reduced to it's own natural riches.

OTHER pirates have fince infested those latitudes, and from time to time diffurbed the trade of Surat. Even the caravans, that carried the merchandise to Agra, to Delhi, and all over the empire, were not always fecured from the attacks of the subjects of the independent Rajas, which they met with on the feveral roads. A fingular

<sup>\*</sup> About 1,200,000l on an average.

BOOK expedient was formerly contrived for the fecurity of the caravans, which was, to put them under the protection of a woman or child, of a race of teemed facred by the nations they dreaded When the banditti appeared, the guardians of the caravans threatened to destroy themselves if they perfifted in their resolution of plundering it, and actually did so if they did not yield to their remonstrances These profligate men, who had not been restrained by respect of blood held sa cred, were excommunicated, degraded, and cast out of their tribe The dread of these severe punifhments was formetimes a check upon avarice, but fince univerfal commotions have prevailed in Indostan, no consideration can allay the thirst of gold

NOTWITHSTANDING all these missortunes, SJrat is still a great trading city. The produce of the numberless manufactures throughout Guzar t 15 deposited in it's warehouses A great part is carried into the inland countries, the reft is conveyed to

all parts of the globe by continual voyages

THE goods more commonly known are, 1st, Dutties, a kind of coarse unbleached cloth, work 17 Persia, Arabin, Abyslinia, and the eastern coast of Africa, and blue linens, which are disposed of in the fame manner, and are likewise sold to the English and Dutch for their Guinea trade

2 THE blue and white checks of Cambaya, which are worn for mantles in Arabia and Turkey fome are coarfe, and fome fine, and fome even

mixed with gold for the use of the rich

3 The white linens of Barokia, fo well known by the name of Biftas As they are extremely fine, they make summer castrans for the Turks and Perfinns The fort of muslin, with a gold stripe at each end, with which they make their turbans, is manufactured at the same place

4 THE

4. The printed callicoes of Amadabat, the co-BOOK lours of which are as bright, as fine, and as durable, as those of Coromandel. They are worn in Persia, in Turkey, and in Europe. The rich people of Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca islands, make pagnes and coverlets of these chintzes.

5. The gauzes of Bairapour, the blue ones are worn by the common people in Persia and Turkey for their summer clothing, and the red ones by persons of higher rank. The Jews, who are not allowed by the Porte to wear white, make their

turbans of these gauzes.

6. MIXED stuffs of filk and cotton, plain, striped, some with satten stripes, some mixed with gold and silver. If they were not so dear, they would be esteemed even in Europe for the brightness of their colours, and the sine execution of the flowers, though their patterns are so indifferent. They soon wear out; but this is of little consequence in the seraglios of Turkey and Persia where they are used.

7. Some are of filk, called tapis. These are pagnes of several colours, much esteemed in the eastern parts of India. Many more would be woven, if it had not been necessary to use foreign materials, which enhance the price too much.

8. Shauls, very light, warm, and fine cloths, made of the wool of Casimere. They are dyed of different colours, striped, and flowered. They are worn for a winter dress in Turkey, Persia, and the more temperate parts of India. With this fine wool turbans are woven, that are ell-wide, and a little more than three ells long, which sell for as much as a thousand crowns. Though this wool be sometimes manufactured at Surat, the since works of this kind are made at Casimere.

BOOK Brside the prodigious quantity of cotton maduse of in the manufactures of Surat, seen or
eight thousand bales at least are annually dispatch
ed to Bingal. A much greater quantity is fent
to China, Persia, and Arabia, when the crops are
very plentiful. If they are moderate, the overplus
is carried down the Ganges, where it is always sold
at a higher price.

Though Surat receives, in exchange for her exports, porcelain from China, filk from Bengal and Perfia, mafts and pepper from Malabar, gums, dates, dried fruits, copper, and pearls, from Perfia, perfumes and flues from Arabin, great quantities of fpices from the Dutch, iron, lead, cloth, cochuncal, and fome hard wares from the English, the balance is so much in her favour, as to bring in yearly twenty five or twenty-six millions of livres an ready money. The prosit would be much greater, if the riches of the court of Delhi were not conveyed into another channel

This balance, however, could never rife again to what it was when the French fettled at Surat in 1668. Their leader's name was Caron. He was a merchant of French extraction, who was grown old in the fervice of the Dutch Company Hamilton fays, that this able man, who had ingratiated himfelf with the emperor of Japan, had obtained leave to build a house for his mafters or the island where the factory stood which was under his direction. This building proved to be a castle. The natives, who knew nothing of fortification did not entertain any sufficient of it. They surprised some pieces of cannon that were sending from Batavia, land informed the court of wha was going forward. Caron was ordered to repair

<sup>\*</sup> From 1,041,5561 131 4d to 1,083,3331 6. 8d

to Jeddo, to give an account of his conduct. As BOOK he had nothing reasonable to allege in his vindication, he was treated with great severity and His beard was plucked up by the roots, a fool's crp and coat were put upon him, and in this condition he was exposed to the insults of the populace, and banished from the empire: The reception he met with at Java gave him a difgust against the interest he had espoused; and, actuated by revenge, he went over to the French, and became their agent.

SURAT, where they had fixed him, did not Enterprise answer his idea of a chief settlement. He disliked of the the fituation; he lamented his being obliged to on the purchase his fafety by submission; he foresaw it islands of would be a disadvantage to carry on trade in Geylon and St. competition with richer nations, who knew more, Thomas, and were in greater esteem, than themselves. Their setamble were in greater esteem, than themselves. He wished to find an independent port in the cen- at Ponter of India, or in some of the Spice Islands, with dicherry. out which he thought it impossible for any Company to support itself. The Bay of Trinquemale, in the island of Ceylon, appeared to him to unite all these advantages; and he accordingly failed for that place with a powerful fquadron, which had been fent him from Europe, under the command of La Haye, who was to act under his direction. The French believed, or feigned to believe, that a fettlement might be made there without incroaching upon the rights of the Dutch, whose property had never been acknowledged by the fovereign of

the illand, with whom the former had entered into a treaty.

ALL that was alleged might indeed be true, but the event was not the more successful. A project which ought to have been kept a profound fecret, was divulged; an expedition which ought to have been effected by furprife, was executed deliberately : BOOK rately; and the French were intimidated by a fleet which was not in a condition to fight, and which could not poffibly have received orders to hazard an 'engagement. The greater part of the fhips crews, and of all the land lorces, perifhed by want and ficknets; fome men were left in a final fort that had been erected, where they were foon compelled to furrender. With the remaining few who had furvived the hardfups of this expedition, the French went in fearch of provisions on the coaft.

Danish fettlement of Tranquebar, or any where else, impelled by despair, they attacked St. Thomas, where they were informed there was great plenty.

Thus town, which had long been in a flourishing condition, had been built by the Portuguese above a hundred years before. The king of Gol-

of Coromandel; but finding none either on the

conda, having conquered the Carnatic, did not fee without regret, so important a place in foreign hands; he sent his generals to attack it in 1662, and they made themselves malters of it. The fortifications, though considerable and in good repair, did not slop the progress of the French, who took them by storm in 1672. They were soon attacked here, and were forced to surrender two years after; because the Durch, who were at war with Lewis XIV., joined with the Indians to expell them.

with Lewis XIV., joined with the Indians to expell them.

This last event would have entirely ruined the enterprise, after all the expence the government had been at to support the Company, had not Martin been one of the merchants seat on board La Haye's squadron. He collected the remains of the two colonies of Ceylon and St. Thomas, and with them he peopled the little town of Pondiclerry, that had been listely ceded to him, on I was ming to a city, when the Company entertains

good hopes of a new fet lement, which they had BOOK now an opportunity of forming in India

Some missionaries had preached the gospel at The Siam. They had ignized the love of the people French are by their doctrine and by their behaviour. Plain, Siam good-natured, and humane men, without intrigue Description or avarice, they give no jealously to the govern- on of that ment nor to the people, they had inspired them with respect and love for the French in general,

and in particular for Lewis XIV

A GREEK, of a restless and ambitious spirit, named Constantine Patilkon, in his travels to Siam, had so far engaged the affections of the prince, that in a short time he raised him to the post of prime minister, or barcalon, an office which nearly answers to the ancient mues of the palace of France

FAULKON governed both the people and the king in the most despotic manner. The prince was treak, a valetudinarian, and had no issue His minister conceived a project to succeed him, posfibly to dethrone him It is well known that these attempts are as easy and as frequent in absolute governments, as they are difficult and uncommon in countries where the prince governs by the rules of justice, where the origin and measure of his authority is regulated by fundamental and immu table laws, which are under the guardianship of numbers of able magistrates There the enemies of the fovereign shew that they are enemies of the state, there they find themselves soon threated in their defigns by all the forces of the name, because, by rebelling against the chief, they rebel against the laws, which are the standing and unalterable will of the nation

FAULKON formed the design of malang the French subservent to his section, as frine ambitious men had formerly made theofa guard of six 'Vol. II E. Find ed

BOOK hundred Japanefe, who had often disposed of the crown of Siam. He sent ambassadors into France in 1684, to make a tender of his master's alliance, to offer sea-ports to the French merchants, and to ask for ships and troops.

alk for linps and troops.

The oftentatious vanity of Lewis XIV, took advantage of this embassy. The flatterers of that prince, who was too much extolled, though he certainly deserved commendation, persuaded him, that his same spread throughout the world, had procured to him the homage of the East. He was not fatisfied with the enjoyment of these vain honours; but endeavoured to improve the dispositions of the king of Siam to the benefit of the India Company, and still more of the missionaries. He sent out a squadron in which there were a greater number of

ambaffadors, directed by the Jefuit Tachard, attended much more to the concerns of religion than to those of commerce.

The Company still entertained great hopes of the settlement at Siam, and these hopes were not ill-grounded.

THAT kingdom, though divided by a ridge of

Jesuits than of traders; and in the treaty which was concluded between the two kings, the French

mountains that is continued till it meets with the rocks of Tartary, is so prodigiously fruitful, that many of it's cultivated lands yield two hundred per cent. Some will even bear plentiful crops ipontaneously. The corn, collected as it was at first produced, without care and without trouble, left as it were to nature, falls off and perishes in the field where it grew, in order to vegetate again in the waters of the stream that flows through the kingdom.

THERE is, perhaps, no country where fruits grow in such plenty and variety, or are so wholetome, as in this delightful spot. Some are peculiar to the country; and those which are equally BOOK the produce of other countries have a much finer. IV. fmell, and are much higher flavoured, than in any other part of the world. '

THE earth, always covered with these treafures, which are confiantly springing up afresh, also conceals under a very superficial surface, mines of gold, copper, loadstone, iron, lead, and calin, a species of tin, which is highly valued through out Alia.

ALL these advantages are rendered useless by the most dreadful tyranny. A prince corrupted by his power, while he is indulging in his feraglio, oppresses his people by his caprices, or suffers them to be oppressed by his indolence. At Siam there are no subjects, all are slaves. The men are divided into three classes: the first serve as a guard to the monarch, till his lands, and are employed in different manufactures in his palace. The fecond are appointed to public labours, and to the defence of the state. The third class are destined to serve the magistrates, the ministers, and principal officers of the kingdom. Every Stamele advanced to any eminent post, is allowed a certain number of men who are at his disposal; so that the falaries annexed to great officers are well paid at the court of Siam, because they are not paid in money, but in men, who coft the prince nothing. These unfortunate people are registered at the age of fixteen. Every one on the first summons must repair to the post assigned him, upon pain of being put in irons, or condemned to the baftinado.

In a country where all the men must work for the government during fix months in the year, without being paid or sublisted, and during the other six to earn a maintenance for the whole year; in fuch a country, the very lands must feel the effects of E 2

BOOK tyranny, and confequently there is no property.

The delicious fruits that enrich the gardens of the monarch and the nobles, are not fuffered to ripen in those of private men. If the foldiers who are fent out to examine the orchards discover some tree laden with choice fruits, they never fail to mark it for the tyrant's table, or that of his miniters. The owner becomes the guardian of it, and is answerable for the fruit under very severe

penalties. THE men are not only flaves to men, but also to the beafts. The king of Siam keeps a great number of elephants. Those of his palace are particularly taken care of, and have extraordinary honours paid to them. The meanest have fifteen flaves to attend them, who are constantly employed in cutting hay, and gathering bananas and sugar-canes for them. The king takes so much pride in these creatures, which are of no real use, that he estimates his power rather by their number than by that of his provinces. Under pretence of feeding these animals well, their attendants will drive them into gardens and cultivated lands, that they may trample upon them, unless the owners will purchase an exemption from these vexations by continual presents. No man would dare to inclose his field against the king's elephants, many of whom are decorated with honourable titles, and advanced to the highest dignities in the state.

These horrors are revolting to our minds; and yet we have no right to discredit them; we who boast of some philosophy, and of a milder kind of government; and who nevertheless live in a kingdom where the wretched peasant is loaded with irons, if he should dare to mow his meadow, or to disturb his field during the season of the coupling and hatching of the partridges; where

he is obliged to leave his vines to the mercy of the BOOK rabbits, and fuffer his harvest to become a prey to deers, flags, and boars; and where he would be fentenced to the galleys, if he had the bold-

ness to strike, either with his whip, or with a stick,

any of these voracious animals.

Such various acts of tyranny make the Stamele detest their native country, though they consider it as the best upon earth. Most of them fly from oppression into the forests, where they lead a savage life, infinitely preferable to that of fociety corrupt-'ed by despotism. So great is this desertion, that, from the port of Mergus to Juthia the capital of the empire, one may travel for a week together, without meeting with the least fign of population, through an immense extent of country, well watered, the foil of which is excellent, and still bears the marks of former cultivation. This fine coun-

try is now over-run with tigers.

IT was formerly inhabited by men. Beside the natives, it was full of fettlements that had been fuccessively formed there by the nations situated to the east of Asia. Their inducement was the immense trade carried on there. All historians attest. that in the beginning of the fixteenth century a great number of ships came into these roads every year. The tyranny which prevailed foon after, fucceffively destroyed the mines, the manufactures, and agriculture. All the foreign merchants, and even those of the nation, were involved in the fame ruin. The state fell into confusion, and confequently became languid. The French, on their arrival, found it thus reduced. General poverty prevailed, and none of the arts were exercifed; while the people were under the dominion of a despotic tyrant, who, in attempting to monopolize all the trade, inevitably destroyed it. The few ornaments and articles of luxury that were IT was no easy matter to divert them from this

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B O O K confumed at court, and in the houses of the great, came from Japan. The Stamese held the Japanese in high estimation, and preferred their works to all others.

Advantages which the French might have derived from errors which occafioned them

attachment, and yet it was the only way of procuring a demand for the produce of French industry. If any thing could effect this change, it was the Christian religion, which the priests of the Siam The foreign mission had preached to them, and not without success, but the Jesuits, too much devoted to Faulkon, who began to be odious, abused the loss of the favour they enjoyed at Court, and drew upon themselves the hatred of the people. This odium was transferred from them to their religion. They built churches before there were any christians to frequent them. They founded monasteries, and by these proceedings occasioned the common people and the Talapoys to revolt. The Talapoys are the monks of the country; fome of whom lead a folitary life, and others are bufy intriguing men. They preach to the people the doctrines and precepts of Sommona Kodom. That lawgiver of the Stamese was long honoured as a sage, and has since been revered as a god, or as an emanation of the deity, a fon of God A variety of marvellous stories are told of this man: He lived upon one grain of rice a-day. He pulled out one of his eyes to give to a poor man, having nothing else to bestow on him. Another time he gave away his wife. commanded the stars, the rivers, and the moun-But he had a brother, who frequently opposed his designs for the good of mankind. God avenged him, and crucified that unhappy brother. This fable had prejudiced the Stamefe against the religion of a crucified God, and they could not worship Jesus Christ, because he died the same death as the brother of Sommona Kodom,

Ir the French could not carry their commodi-BOOK ties to Siam, they could at least gradually inspire the people with a tafte for them, prepare the way for a great trade with this country, and avail themselves of that which actually offered, to open connections with all the eaft. The fituation of that kingdom between two gulphs, where it extends one hundred and fixty leagues along the feacoast on the one gulph, and about two hundred on the other, would have opened the navigation of all the feas in that part of the world. The fortress of Bancoc built at the mouth of the Menan, which had been put into the hands of the French, was an excellent mart for all transactions they might have had with China, the Philippines, or any of the eaftern parts of India. Mergui, the principal port of the kingdom, and one of the best in Asia, which had likewise been ceded to them, would have greatly facilitated their trade with the coast of Coromandel, and chiefly with Bengal' It secured to them an advantageous intercourse with the kingdoms of Pegu, Ava, Arracan, and Lagos, countries still more barbarous than Siam, but where the finest rubies in the world, and fome gold dust are to be found. All these countries, as well as Stam, produce the tree which yields that valuable gum, with which the Chinese and Japanele make their varnish; and whoever is in possession of this commodity, may be certain of carrying on a very lucrative trade with China and Japan.

Beside the advantage of meeting with good fettlements, which were no expence to the Company, and might throw into their hands a great part of the trade of the eaft, they might have brought home from Siam, ivory, logwood, like that which is cut in the bay of Campeachy, a great deal of caffia, and all the buffalo and deer-ikins

thit

BOOK that the Dutch formerly brought from thence, They might have grown pepper there, and, poffibly, other spices which were not to be found in the country, as the people did not understand the culture of them, and because the wretched inhabitants of Siam are so indifferent to every thing, that nothing succeeds with them, ,

THE French paid no regard to these objects. The factors of the Company, the officers, and the Jefuits, were equally ignorant of trade: the whole attention of the latter was taken up in converting the natives, and making themselves masters of them. At last, after having given but a weak affiftance to Faulkon at the inftant when he was ready to execute his deligns, they were involved in his disgrace; and the fortresses of Mergui and Bancoc, defended by French troops, were taken from them by the most cowardly of all people.

Views of quin and Ċochinchina Defeription of thefe countries.

During the short'time that the French were the French fettled at Siam, the Company endeavoured to establish themselves at Tonquin. They flattered themselves that they might trade with safety and advantage with a nation which had for about feven centuries been instructed by the Chinese. Theism prevails among them, which is the religion of Confucius, whose precepts and writings are there holden in greater veneration than even in China. But there is not the same agreement as in China in the principles of government, religion, laws, opinion, rites, and ceremonies: and though Tonquin has the same law-giver, it is far from having the same system of morality. We find there neither that respect for parents, that love for the prince, those reciprocal affections, nor those social virtues, which are met with in China; nor have they the fame good order, police, industry, or activity

This nation, which is devoted to excellive in-BOOK dolence, and is voluptuous without tafte or deli- 1V. cacy, lives in constant distrust of it's sovereigns and of strangers. It is doubtful whether this mistrust proceeds from a natural restlessiness of temper, or whether their spirit of sedition be owen to this circumstance, that the Chinese system of morality has enlightened the people without improving the government. Whatever be the progress of knowledge, whether it come from the people to the government, or from that to the people, it is necessary that both should be enlightened at the fame time, or elfe the state will be exposed to fatal revolutions. Accordingly, in Tonquin, there is a continual struggle between the eunuchs who govern, and the people who impatiently bear the yoke. Every thing languishes and tends to ruin, in consequence of these diffentions; and the calamities must increase, till the people have compelled their mafters to grow wifer, or the mafters have rendered their lubjects quite infenfible. The Portuguese and the Dutch, who had attempted to form fome connections in Tonquin, had been forced to give them up. The French were not more successful. No Europeans have since carried on that trade, except some few merchants of Madraís, who have alternately forfaken and resumed it. They divide with the Chinese the exportation of copper and ordinary filks, the only commodities of any value that country

affords.

COCHINCHINA lay too near to Siam not to draw the attention of the French; and they would probably have fixed there, had they had fagacity enough to foresee what degree of splendour that rising state would one day acquire. The Europeans are indebted to a philosophical traveller for what little-they know with certainty of that fine

no o a They dreaded the like calamity, and therefore took care to guard against the abuse of nuthority, which is so apt to transferess it's due limits, if not kept under some restraint. Their chief, who had set them an example of liberty, and taught them to revolt, promised them that selectly which he himself chose to enjoy, that of a just, mild, and parental government. He cultivated with them the land in which they had all taken refuge. He never demanded any thing of 'them, except an annual and voluntary contribution, to enable him to defend the nation gainst the tyrant of Tonquin, who, for a long time, purfired them beyond the river which separated them from him.

THIS primitive contract was religiously observed for upwards of a century, under five or fix fucceffors of that brave deliverer - but at last it has been infringed. The reciprocal and folemn engagement between the king and his people is still renewed every year in the face of heaven and earth, in a general affembly of the whole nation, collected in an open field, where the oldest man prefides, and where the king only affifts as a pri vate person He still honours and protects agriculture, but does not, like his predecessors, fet the example of labour to his fubjects When he speaks of them, he still fays, they are my children, but they are no longer fo His courtiers have fuled themselves his flaves, and have given him the pompous and facrilegious title of king of beaven From that moment, men must have appeared to him but as so many insects creeping on the ground The gold which he has taken out of the mines, has put a stop to agriculture. He has despiled the homely roof of his ancestors, and would build a palace It's circumference has been marked out, and is a league in extent Thousands of cannon planted round the walls of this palace,

make it formidable to the people. A despotic BOOK monarch resides there, who in a short time will be secluded from the eyes of the people; and this concealment, which characterists the majesty of eastern kings; will substitute the tyrant to the father of the nation.

: THE discovery of gold has naturally brought on that of taxes; and the administration of the finances will foon take place of civil legislation and focial contract. Contributions are no longer voluntary, but extorted. Defigning men go to the king's palace, and craftily obtain the privilege of plundering the provinces. With gold they at once purchase a right of committing crimes and the privilege of impunity; they bribe the courtiers, elude the vigilance of the magistrates; and oppress the hulbandman. The traveller already fees, as he paffes along, fallow grounds, and whole villages fortaken by their inhabitants. This king of beaven, like the gods of Epicurus, carelessly suffers plagues and calamities to vex the land. He is ignorant of the sufferings and distrelles of his people, who will foon fall into a ftate of annihilation, like the favages whole territories they now poliefs. All nations governed by despotism must inevitably perish in this manner. If Cochinchina should relapse into that state of confusion out of which it emerged about a hundred and fifty years ago, it will be wholly difregarded by the navigators who now frequent the ports of that kingdom, The Chinele, who carry on the greatest trade there, get in exchange for their own commodities wood for small work, and timber for building houses and thips. > ... ( - ...

THEY also export from thence an immense quantity of fugar, the raw at four livres a hun-

BOOK dred weight, the white at eight , and fugarcandy at ten + very good filk, faturs, and pitre, the fibres of a tree, not unlike the banana, which they fraudulently mix in their manufactures. black and ordinary tea, which ferves for the confumption of common people and fuch excellent cinnamon, that it fells three or four times dearer than that of Ceylon There is but a small quantity of this, as it grows only upon one mountain, which is always furrounded with guards Excellent popper is another article, and fuch pure tron, that they work it as it comes out of the mine, without frielting gold of three and twenty carrats, which is found there in greater plenty than in any other part of the East aloes wood, which is more or less esteemed as it is more or less refinous The pieces that contain most of this resin are commonly taken from the heart, or from the root of the tree They are called calunbac, and are always fold for their weight in gold to the Chinese, who account them the highest cordial in hature They are carefully preferred in pewter-boxes, to keep them from drying When they are to be administered, they are ground upon a marble, with such haunds as are best suited to the disorder they are intended to remove The inferior kind of aloes wood, which always fells for a hundred livres ‡ a pound at least, is carried to Persia, Turkey, and Arabia They use it to per-fume their clothes, and sometimes their apartments, upon very extraordinary occasions, and then they mix it with amber o It is also employed for another purpole A custom prevails among these nations, when they are desirous of shewing their vilitors great marks of civility, to prefent them with pipes, then with cofice and fixeetwith rose water.

meats. When conversation begins to grow lan- BOOK guid, the sherbet is brought in, which is looked upon as a hint to depart. As foon as the stranger rifes to go away, they bring in a little pan with aloes-wood, and perfume his beard, fprinkling it

·THOUGH the French, who had scarce any thing elfe to bring but cloth, lead, gunpowder, and brimstone, were obliged to trade with Cochinchina chiefly in money, yet they were under a necessity of pursuing this trade in competition with the Chinese. This inconvenience might have been obviated by the profit that would have been made upon goods fent to Europe, or fold in India; but it is now too late to attempt it. Probity and honesty, the effentials of an acting and lasting trade, are forsaking these regions, which were formerly to flourishing, in proportion as the government becomes arbitrary, and confequently unjust. In a short time no greater number of ships will be feen in their harbours than in those of the neighbouring flates, where they were scarcely known.

However this may be, the French Company driven from Siam, and without hopes of fettling at the extremities of Asia, began to regret their factory at Surat, where they dared not appear again, fince they had left it without paying their debts. They had loft the only market they knew of for their cloths, their lead, and their iron; and they were continually at a loss in the purchase of goods to answer the capricious demands of the mother-country, and the wants of the colonies. By fulfilling all their former engagements, they might have recovered the privilege they had forfeited. The Mogul government, which would have wished to see a greater number of ships reforting to Surat, often folicited the French to

fatisfy ,

BOOK fatisfy these claims; for they preferred them to the IV. English, who had purchased of the court an ex-

emption from all duties. Whether it were for want of honefty, of kill, or of means, certain it is that the Company never could remove the reproach they had incurred. They confined their whole attention to the fortifying of Pondicherry, when they were fuddenly prevented by a bloody wat, which had it's origin in remote causes.

The French lofe and recover Pondicherry, their principal fettlement,

THE northern Barbarians who had overturned the Roman empire, that was mistress of the world, established a form of government which would not admit of augmenting their conquests, and kept every state within it's natural limits. abolition of the feudal laws, and the alterations consequent upon it, seemed to tend a second time to establish a kind of universal monarchy; but the Austrian power, weakened by the great extent of it's possessions, and their distance from each other, could not subvert the bulwarks that were raising against it. After a whole century passed in contells, hopes, and disappointments, it was forced to yield to a nation, whose strength, position, and activity, rendered her more formidable to the liberties of Europe. Richelieu and Mazarine began this revolution by their intrigues. Turenne and Condé completed it by their victories. Colbert settled it by the introduction of arts, and of all kinds of industry. If Lewis XIV, who may be faid to have been not, perhaps, the greatest monarch of his age, but one who best supported the dignity of the throne, had been more moderate in the exercise of his power, and the sense of his grandeur, it is difficult to determine how far he might have carried his good fortune. His vanity proved detrimental to his ambition. After bending his own subjects to his will, he wanted to exert the same power over his neighbours. pride

pride raised him more enemies, than his influence B O O K and his genius could supply him with allies and resources. He was delighted with the flatteries of his panegyrsh and courtiers, who promifed him universal monarchy; and the pleasure he took in these adulations, contributed still more than the extent of his power to inspire a dread of universal conquest and slavery. The distresses and invectives of his protestant subjects, dispersed by a tyrannical fanaticism, completed the hatred he had incurred by his successes, and by the abuse he had made of his prosperity.

The Prince of Orange, a man of a fleady, uptight disposition, and of a penetrating judgment, endowed with every virtue that is confistent with ambition, became the chief inftigator of all these resentments, which he had long somented by his negociations and his entillaries. France was attacked by the most formidable confederacy recorded in history, and yet she was constantly, and in

all parts, triumphant.

SHE was not so successful in Asia as in Europe. The Dutch first endeavoured to prevail upon the natives to attack Pondicherry, which they could never be compelled to restore. The Indian prince, to whom they applied for that purpose, was not to be bribed to agree to so perfidious a proposal: His constant answer was, The French have bought that place, it would be unjust to turn them out. What the Raja resused to do, the Dutch did themselves: they besieged the town in 1693, and were obliged to restore it at the peace of Ryswick, in a much better condition than they sound it.

MARTIN was again appointed director, and managed the affairs of the Company with that wildom, ikill, and integrity, which was expected from him. That able and virtuous merchant intited many new fettlers to Pondicherry, and made

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BOOK the place agreeable to them, by the good order he maintained there, and by his moderation and justice. He acquired the favour of the neighbouring princes, whose friendship was of consequence to a weak and infant fettlement. He chose or formed proper persons, whom he sent to the markets of Alia, and to the feveral princes of that empire. He had perfuaded the French, that as they were come last to India, that as they found themselves there in a weak condition, and could not expect any affiftance from their own country, they had no other way of succeeding, but by inspiring the natives with a favourable opinion of their character. He induced them to lay aside that levity, and those contemptuous airs, which so often make their nation insufferable to strangers. They grew modest, gentle, and attentive to business; they learned the art of behaving fuitably to the genius of the feveral nations, and to particular circumstances. Those who did not confine themselves to the Company's service, frequenting different courts, became acquainted with the places where the finest stuffs were manufactured, the flaples where the choicest commodities were to be met with, and, in short, with all the particulars relative to the inland trade of every country.

ALt that Martin had it in his power to accomplish, was to lay the foundation of future fuceds to the Company, by the good opinion he gave of the French, by the pains he took to train up agents, by the informations he gained, and by the good order he maintained in Pondicherry, which daily acquired new inhabitants; but all this was not fufficient to reftore the declining state of the Company, subject from it's infancy to such divorders as must at length certainly destroy it.

His first plan was to establish a great empire at B O O K Madagascar A single voyage carried over fixteen hundred and eighty eight persons, who were Decline made to expect'a delightful climate and a rapid of the fortune, and sound nothing but famine, discord, Company, and death and the So unfortunate a beginning discouraged the ad-tause of it.

venturers from an undertaking, which they had entered upon merely with a view to follow the example of others, or in compliance with folicitations. The owners of fhares, had not made good their payments with fo much punctuality as is required in commercial affairs. The government, which had engaged to advance, without intereft, a fifth part of the fums the Company were to receive, and which as yet was only bound to furniff two millions\*, again drew the fame fum out of the public treafury, in, hopes of fupporting the work it had begun. Some time after, it's generofity was carried ftill further, in making a free gift of what at first was only lent.

This encouragement from the minitry could not, however, enable the Company to proceed in their defigns. They were forced to confine them to Surat and Pondicherry, and to abindon their fettlements at Bantam, Rajapore, Tilleri, Mazulipatam, Gombroon, and Siam. No doubt they had too many factories, and fome were ill fituated, but the inability they were under of fupporting them, was the only reason that they were abandoned.

Soon after this, it became necessary to make further advances. In 1682, they gave permission indistruminately to French subjects and foreigners to trade to the East Indies for five years, on the Company's ships paying the freight that should be

BOOK agreed upon; and on condition that the good brought home fhould be deposited in the Company's warehouses, sold at the same time with their's, and be subject to a duty of five per cert.

The public so eagerly came into this proposal, that the directors entertained great hopes from

their's, and be fitbject to a duty of five per iert. The public fo eagerly came into this propofal, that the directors entertained great hopes from the increase of these small profits, which would be constant without any risque." But the proprietors, less fensible of these moderate advantages, than jealous of the great profits made by the free traders, in two years time obtained a repeal of this regulation, and their charter remained in full force.

To support this monopoly with some decency, a fund was wanting. In 1684, the Company obtained from government a call upon all the proprietors, amounting to a sourth part of their property; and in case any of them failed to pay the sum required, their whole share was to be made over to those who should pay it for them, after having reimbursed them a fourth of their capital. Whether from perverseness, from particular motives, or from inability, many did not pay, so that their shares lost three-fourths of their original value; and, to the disgrace of the nation, there were men barbarous and unjust enough to enrich themselves with their spoils.

An expedient fo diffonourable enabled them to fit out a few flips for Afia; but new wants were foon felt. Their cruel fituation, which continually grew worfe, put them upon demanding of the proprietors, in 1697, the reflitution of the dividends of ten and twenty per cent, which they had received in 1687 and 1691. So extraordinary a propofal raifed a general clamour. The Company were obliged to have recourfe to the ufual method of borrowing. These loans became more

burdensome, the more they were multiplied, as BOOK.
the security was more precarious.

As the Company was in want; both of money and credit, the emptines of their coffers put it out of their power to afford those advantages, and that encouragement to the merchant in India, without which he will neither work, nor set others to work. This inability reduced the French sales to nothing. It is demonstrable, that from 1664 to 1684, that is, in the space of twenty years, the sum total of their produce did not exceed nine millions one hundred thousand livres.

To these had been added other abuses. The conduct of the administrators, and agents for the Company had not been properly directed, or carefully looked into. The capital had, been broken into, and dividends paid out of the stock, which ought only to have arisen from the profits. The least brilliant, and least prosperous of all reigns, had exhibited a model for a commercial company. The trade to China, the easiest, the safest, and the most advantageous that is carried on with Asia, had been given up to a particular body of merchants.

The bloody war of 1689 added to the calamities of the India Company, even by the yery fuccesses of France. Swarms of privateers, fitted out from the several harbours in the kingdom, annoyed, by their vigilance and bravery, the trade of Holland and England. In their numberless prizes were found a prodigious quantity of India goods, which were retailed at a low price. The Company, who by this competition were forced to fell under prime cost, endeavoured to find our some expedient to save themselves from this danger, but could think of none that was reconcile-

<sup>\* 379,166</sup>l, 135. 4d.

BOOk able with the interest of the privateers, nor did the minister think proper to sacrifice an useful set

of men to a body, which had so long wearred him with their necessities and complaints BESIDE these, the Company had many more

causes of discontent The financiers had shewn an open littred for them, and were continually opposing or confining them. Supported by those vile affociates which they always have at court, they endeavoured to put an end to the Indian trade, under the specious pretence of encouraging the home manufactures. The government was at first afraid of being exposed to reproach, by depart ing from the principles of Colbert, and repealing the most folemn edicts but the farmers of the revenue found means to render those privileges

the Company no longer enjoyed, without being absolutely deprived of them Heavy duties were successively laid upon all India goods Half a year feldom paffed without fome new regulation, fometimes to allow, fome times to prohibit, the use of these commodities there was a continued scene of contradictions in a part of administration, that would have required

useless, which the ministry would not abolish, and

ons gave the Europeans region to think, that trade would with difficulty be established in a kingdont where all dep adsupon the caprices of a minister, or the interest of those who govern

destruction

THE conduct of an ignorant and corrupt administration, the levity and impatience of the proprietors, the interested views of the comptrollers of finance, the oppressive spirit of the treasury, joined to other causes, had prepared the ruin of the Company The miferies of the war, carned on for the Spanish succession, hastened then

fleady and invariable principles All these variati

EVERY resource was exhausted. The most san- BOOK guine saw no prospect of their being able to send out a fleet. Belides, if by unexpected good fortune some few weak vessels should be fitted out, it was to be feared they might be feized in Europe, or in India, by disappointed creditors, who must necessarily be exasperated. These powerful motives determined the Company in 1707, to confent that some rich merchants should send their own thips to India, 'upon condition that they should allow the Company fifteen per cent. profit upon the goods they should bring home, and the right of taking such share in those ships as their circumstances should admit of. Soon after this, they were even reduced to make over the whole and exclusive exercise of their privilege to some privateers of St. Malo, still reserving the same concession, which for some years past had a certain degree kept them from ruin.

Notwithstanding this desperate situation, in 1714 they solicited the renewal of their charter, which was nearly expired, and which they had enjoyed for half a century. Although they had none of their capital lest, and that their debts amounted to ten millions, yet the ministry, who did not know, or would not perceive, that measures more prudential might be adopted; granted them an indulgence for ten years longer. This new regulation was thwarted by the most incledible revolution that the snances of the kingdom, ever experienced; the cause and effects of which will be more readily comprehended by those who will take the trouble to follow us in our review of the most distant periods of the monarchy.

We are entirely unacquainted with the manner Revolution which in which the primitive Gauls supplied the several have hap-

have hap, pened in the finances of fince the carlieft times of the monarchy.

BOOK wants of the confederate bodies of which they were members. Their descendents, under the dominion of the Romans, paid no other tax than the fifth of the fruit of their trees, and the tenth of the produce of their harvests, in kind.

This impost, was abolished at the invasion of the Franks, who did not substitute any other in heu of it. The fovereign, for his private expences, as well as for the exigencies of the state, had no other revenue than that which he acquired from his lands, which were extensive and numerous. They were covered with woods, ponds, breeds of hories, cattle, and flaves under the conduct of an active director, whose business it was to maintain order, to encourage industry, and to insure plenty. The court went to live fuccessively upon these domains, which were entirely laid out in useful productions; and what they did not confume was fold for other purposes. The carriages wanted for the journeys of the prince were furnished by the people, and the nobles supplied their sovereign with a residence and provisions. It was customary to make him a present of greater or less value at his departure; and, this testimony of regard was afterwards changed into an impost, under the title of drost 'de gîte "; when the heads of the state were disgusted of this wandering life. With these few resources, and some other succours, always of a trifling nature, which were granted (though very feldom) in the martial affemblies of the nation, the fovereign contrived still to build magnificent churches, to found rich bishopries, to repel formidable enemies, and to make important con-

AT the beginning of the eighth century, Charles B O O K Martel, the mayor of the palace, thought these IV. funds infufficient for the defence of the kingdom, violently attacked by the Saracens, who were formidable from their numbers, their bravery, and their victories. It was the idea of this famous depolitary of the royal authority, that a war against the infidels was to be maintained by holy pro--perty; and without any of those precautions which it has fince been necessary to have recourse to, and which have even been frequently employed without effect, he feized upon the riches of the church, which were immense. If the clergy flattered; themselves that peace would reinstate them in their possessions, they were disappointed in their expectations. The fovereigns remained masters of the richest bishopries, the nobles of the best abbeys, and the gentlemen of the most confiderable benefices. They became fo many fiels, the possessors, or rather perhaps the usurpers of which, were constrained to a military service proportioned to the value of their, possessions. At first they were holden only for life; but they afterwards became hereditary, upon the decline of Charlemagne's family. They were then introduced in the course of circulation, as all other properties are. They were given away, fold, or distributed. A living was frequently the dowry of a young person who used to farm the tenths. and the casual profits of it. 1 to

THE first kings of the third race suffered · themselves to be persuaded that it was a duty of religion, as well as a point of justice, to restore to the fanctuary what had been purloined from it. The facrifice was fo much the greater, as thefe princes could not expect any affiftance from a nation that was parcelled out, and which held no more assemblies; and as they had nothing renook maining of their ancient domain, except what

N. was fruated in the circuit of the confined territory that had been left immediately at their own
thipofal, when the government became entirely
feudal, The Jews: were most commonly the per-

coffers. '
THERTY-SEVIN years after the death of the Melliah, Titus attacked and took Jerusalem, Thousands of Jews perished in the siege; a great number were reduced to slavery, and the rest of the nation was dispersed. Some of them passed on the state of the state

cumflances.

fons, who used to supply the deficiency which these revolutions had occasioned in the royal

SOMETIMES the Jews purchased the right of forming a distinct and separate people in the state. They had then their own tribunals, a seal that was peculiar to them, burying places without the gates of the cities, synagogues in which they were allowed to pray only in a low voice, and a mark upon their clothes, which rendered it impossible not to know them.

If the intention formetimes prevailed of forcing them to turn Christians, they were more frequently prohibited from it. A Jew who changed his religion, was subject to a penalty, and his estate were conficated. He was thus deprived of every thing, because there was no longer any pretence for loading hish with taxes.

Most commonly, the nation was left a prey to the usurious dealings of these iniquitous men: but on some occasions it was forbidden to hold any intercourse with them. It was prohibited by law to line any Jews for servants, to hold any lease of them, to put any trust in their physicians, to sucble, or even to rear their children. the wells, of having maffacred the children, and of having crucified a man on the memorable day of Good Friday. It was by gold alone that they were able to clear themselves of all these arrocious imputations, equally devoid of truth and probability.

bility. THE spirit of tyranny often loaded them with chains of Their persons, their estates, and their goods, rail belonged to the flord of the place where they dwelt. He might purfue athem if they changed their relidence, and the fovereign himself had no right to detain them whenever. they were claimed. These kinds of slaves were confidered as an article of trade; they were fold, either separately, or with the land, at a greater or less price, according to their respective talents and industry. TO In Tome inflances they were compelled to purchase their freedom. These low-minded men would have preferred a state of slavery which did not prevent, them from acquiring riches; to [an, independence by which they were to be deprived of them; but the liberty of (choice was not allowed to them." They were forced to fubmit, either to expire in torments; or to drag from the bowels of the earth the treasures they had conpealed there. All the provinces " WHEN these insatiable leeches had devoured

When these insatiable leeches had devoured the substance of the whole state; they were made to discover their plander, and then exited. In order, to get leave to renew their depredations, they sacrificed part of the treasure they had saved from the general wreck; and made use of the rest in regaining still more than had been taken from them.

Though the barons had more or less a share in the vexations with which the Jews were oppressed,

BOOK yet the fovereigns, upon whom this perverse race
more particularly depended, always derived the
principal advantages from them. It was by mean
of this satal and odious resource that they support
ed for some time a feeble and contested authority
In after-times, the debasing of the coin furnished
them with fresh affishance.

THE ancient governments were very far from making any advantage of their coin. The comage was always carried on at the expence of the state; and it is a matter of uncertainty which were the people who first laid a tax upon this universal object of exchange. If this fatal example was given by France, the kings of the first and second race must have derived little advantage from this pernicious innovation; because the payments were made, as among the Romans, with metals given by the weight; and because the use of specie was adopted only in the details of commerce. 'This custom became afterwards confiderably less prevalent; and the sovereigns were still more inclined to increase a tax, which was every day becoming more advantageous to them. In a little time they went much further, and did not scruple to commit the most flagrant act of dishonesty, in altering the value of the coin, at pleasure, or according to their necessities. The specie was continually undergoing a fresh melting, and was always mixed with very base alloy.

In was with these odious succours; with the revenue of a territory extremely limited; with some fiels, which either became vacant or were confiscated, with some voluntary offerings, which were therefore stilled gifts of benevolence; with some taxes exacted from the barons, but which were rather tokens of submission than real imposs; it was, in a word, by these means, that

the crown was supported, and that it's power BOOK even continued increasing, during all the time that it had no other enemies to contend with, except vasilals more feeble than itself. Wars at that period lasted no longer than a few weeks; the armies were not numerous; the military service was performed without reward; and the expences of the court were so inconsiderable, that till the fatal reign of Charles VI., they never exceeded 44,000 livres.

But no fooner had the epidemic rage of the crusades' drawn the French far away from their frontiers; no sooner had foreign enemies made powerful inroads into France, than it became necessary to establish regular and considerable funds. The sovereigns would have been very delirous of taking upon themselves the regulation of these contributions; and attempted it more than once. They were forewarned of these usurpations by the remonstrances of enlightened persons, and compelled to give them up by the revolt of the people. They were obliged to acknowledge that this authority belonged to the nation assembled, and to that alone. They even made oath at their coronation, that this facred and unalienable right should be for ever respected; and this oath was a restraint upon them for several centuries.

During all the time that the crown had no other revenue than the produce of it's domains; the collecting of the public treasury had been allotted to the Seneschals and Ballits, each in their respective departments; so that power, the administration of justice, and the distribution of finance, were all united under one common head. When taxes were general throughout the kingdom, it became necessary to settle a new arrange-

for the state, these agents were sought for in Italy,

the perion, or upon the houses of the cutzens, whether individuals were required to give up the fifth or the tenth of their harvests, and the fifteth or the hundredth parts of their effects, moveable or immoveable, or whether other calculations, more or less fortunate, were made, still there was a necestity to have a multiplicity of agents to collect these different tributes, and, unfortunately

where the art of fqueezing the people had already mide an immense progress

THESE financiers, who were known by the name of Lombards, gave early proofs of a genus fertile in fraudulent contrivances Numberless and fruitless attempts were made, at different times, to put a ftop to their infatiable cupidity No fooner was one ab ife suppressed, than it was fucceeded by another of a different kind If these infamous plunderers were sometimes prosecuted with rigour by the hand of authority, they found an effectual support from some powerful persons, whose protection and influence they had purchased At length, however, their enormities were carried to fuch a height, that no protection could fave them The advances which these pernicious strangers had made to government and to individuals, were confilented, they were deprived of the immense treasures they had heaped up, and were banished from the kingdom, into which they ought never to have been admitted After their expulsion, the general affembly of the three, which regulated the fublidies, took upon them felves to collect them, and this arrangement continued till the time of Charles VII, who first sentured to fettle a tax without the confent of the nation, and who appropriated to himself the right

right of having all the imposts collected by his own BOOK delegates.

UNDER the reign of Lewis XII., the public revenue, which had gradually increased, amounted to fever millions fix hundred and fifty thous fandilives (a). The mare of filver was then valued at eleven livres (b), and the third of gold at one hundred and thirty (c). This fum answered to thirty-fix millions (d) of our livres at this day.

Ar the death of Francis I the treasury received fifteen millions feven hundred and thirty thoufand livres (e); the mare of filver being then valued at fifteen livres (f), and the mare of gold at one hundred and fixty-five (g); this answered to fifty-fix millions of our livres (b). From this fum, fixty thousand four hundred and fixteen livres, three fols, four deniers (1), were to be deducted for the perpetual annuities created by that prince, and which, at eight and a half per cent. answered to a capital of seven hundred and twenty-five thousand livres (k). This was an innovation; not but that fome of his predecessors had been acquainted with the fatal resource of loans; but this had been always upon the fecurity of their agents, and the state had never been concerned in them

A SFRIES of civil wars, of acts of fanaticism, of depredations, of crimes and of anarchy, during a space of forty years, plunged the sinances of the kingdom into a state of disorder, from which none but a Sully could have recovered them. This economical, enlightened, virtuous, indefatigable, and bold minister, reduced to the

<sup>(</sup>a) 318,7501. (b) 92 2d. (c) 61 82 42. (v) 1,500,0001 (c) 655,4161. 135 4d (f) 122 61. (g) 61. 135 6d (f) 2,513,5321 6 8d. (l) 2,5131 63 6d ft. (l) 3,7245 6. 8d.

BOOK amount of feven millions (a) of annuities, leffened the taxes by three millions (b), and left the flate twenty-fix millions (c), with the burden only of fix millions twenty-five thousand fix hundred and fix-ty-fix livres, two fols, fix deniers (d), in annuities; confequently, when all charges were deducted, twenty millions of livres (c) entered the royal treasury; fifteen millions five hundred thousand (f) were fufficient for the public expences, and the favings amounted to four millions five hundred thousand livres (g). The value of filver was then twenty-two livres (b) the marc.

THE compelled retreat of this great man, after the tragical end of the best of kings, was a calamity which we still have cause to regret. The court immediately indulged itself in profusions which were unparalleled in the monarchy; and the ministers afterwards formed enterprises, to which the powers of the nation were not adequate. The treasury was again exhausted by this double principle of unavoidable confusion. In 1661, the taxes amounted to eighty-four millions, two hundred and twenty-two thousand and ninety-fix livres (1): but the debts absorbed fifty-two millions three hundred and feventy-feven thousand one hundred and feventy-two livres (k). remained therefore, for the public expences no more than thirty-one millions eight hundred and forty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-four livres (1), a firm evidently infufficient for the exigencies of the flate. Such was the fituation of

<sup>(</sup>a) 291,6661, 133, 4d. (c) 1,083,3331 65 8d. (e) 833,3331 65, 8d. (g) 127,5001. (f) 1,509,2541 (f) 1,326,8711, 155, 8d.

<sup>(</sup>b) 125,0001. (d) About 251,0691. 8s.5d. (f) 645,8331. 6s. 8d. (h) 18s. 4d. (k) 2,182,3821. 3s. 4d.

he finances, when the administration of them was BOOK ntrusted to Colbert.

THIS minister, whose name is become so celerated among all, nations, raifed, in 1683, which vas the last year of his life, the revenues of the nonarch whom he ferved to one hundred and fixeen millions eight hundred and feventy-three housand four hundred and seventy-fix livres (a). The fum charged upon it did not, exceed twentyhree millions three hundred and feventy-five housand two hundred and seventy-sour livres (b); that the fum of ninety-three millions four hunfred and ninety-eight thousand two hundred and :wo livres (c), was confequently poured into the sing's coffers. The value of filver was then wenty-eight divres, ten fols, ten deniers (d) the narc. We have only to regret, that the fatal propenlity of Lewis XIV. for war, and his inordinate turn for every kind of expence that was attended with parade and magnificence should have deprived the kingdom of France of some of the advantages the might have flattered herfelf with from so able an administrator. . . .

Arte the death of Colbert, the affairs were plunged again into that chaos, from which his industry and talents had made them emerge. Though France appeared with fome degree of outward fplendour, yet her internal decay was daily, increasing. Her finances, administered without order or principle, fell a prey to a multi-under of contractors; who made themselves need fary even by their plunders, and went to far as to impose terms to government. Consuson, continual alterations of the com, reductions of interest, alienations of the domain and of the contractors.

(a) 4,869,7281. 35. 4d. (c) 3,895,7581. 25. 4d.

Vol. II.

(b) 973.25c; 152. (d) 11. 31. 52.2 BOOK engagements which it was impossible to fu'fl

IV. creations of pensions and places, privileges exemptions of all kinds: these, and a variety other evils, each more ruinous than the other were the deplorable and unavoidable co of an almost uninterrupted succession of administrations.

The loss of credit foon became universel Bankruptenes were more frequent. Money fearce, and trade was at a fland. The ton was lefs. The culture of lands was negled ed. Artifls went over to foreign countries. The common people had neither food nor clothing. The nobility ferved in the army without pay, and mortgaged their lands. All orders of men groaned under the veight of taxes, and were in ward of the necessaries of life. The royal effects had

of the necessaries of large, and were in war of the necessaries of life. The royal effects had lost their value. The contracts upon the izid de ville fold but for half their worth, and billised an inferior kind lost infinitely more. Lewis XIV. a little before his death, was in great want of eight millions (a); and was forced to give bonds for thirty-two millions (b), which was borrowing at

No clamous were raifed against so enormous an usury. The revenue of the state, amounted, it is true, to one hundred and fifteen millions three hundred eighty nine thousand and seventy-four lives (c); but the sums charged upon it took away eighty-two millions eight hundred and fifty nine thousand five hundred and four livres (d); to that there remained, for the expences of government, no more than thurty-two millions sive hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and seventy livres(c), at thirty livres, ten sols, fix

four inindred per cent

<sup>(</sup>a) 333,3331 6s. 8d (c) 4,807,8781 1s 8d. (c) 1,355,3981. 152.

<sup>(</sup>b) 1,333,3331. 6s 8d. (d) 3,452,4791. 6s. 8d

feniers \* the marc. All these funds were more-BOOK

Such was the confusion in the state of public affairs, when, on the first of September 1715, the Duke of Orleans assumed the reins of government. The true friends of this great prince, were defirous that he should call together a general asfembly of the flates This would have been an infallible method of preferring, and even of increafing, the public favour, already openly declared for him. Whatever measures might have been adopted by the nation, to free itself from that critical lituation, into which it had been precipitated by the diffipations of the reign, no blame could have been imputed to him. The Duke of Orleans was ready to concur in this expedient. Unfortunately, the perfidious confidants, who had usurped too much power over his mind, reprobated a scheme in which their private interest could not find it's advantage, and it was given up

Ar that time, some great men, disgusted of the despotism under which France was oppressed, and seeing no probability of shaking off the yoke, entertained an ideal of a complete bankruptcy, which they thought a proper method of moderating the excess of absolute power. The manner in which they conceived that it should be brought about, was singular.

Accorbing to their fystem, the crown is neither fereduary nor 'elective. It is nothing more than a trustryanted by the whole nation to one particular house, 'that it may pass from one elder male to the next, as long as the family shall exist. Upon this principle, a king of France holds nothing from the person whom he succeeds He comes

NO K to the throne in his turn, in virtue of the right two which his birth gives him, and not as the representative of his father. He cunnot therefore be bound by the engagements of his predection.

The primordial law which gives him the feeptre, requires that the fubfittution should be simple, complete, and free from any obligation.

THESE bold men were desirous that thek maxims, which appeared to them incontrovenble, as well as the decifive confequences they drew from them, should be consecrated in the eyes of all Europe by a most solemn edict. They thought, that when these truths were made known they would prevent foreigners and natives from lending their capitals to a government which could give no folid fecurity for the debt. Confequent ly, the court would from that time be reduced to live upon it's own income. However consider able this income might be, the necessary confe quence of fuch an event would be, that form limit would be fet to the caprices of the fore reigns; that the expensive enterprises of mind ters would become of less continuance and fre quency; and that the infatiable cupidity of fa vourites and mistresses must in some measure b restrained. :

Some politicians, without adopting a fystem which appeared to them calculated to lead the princes to tyranny, were of opinion, that the crown should be released of it's debts, in what ever mode they might have been contracted. They could not bear the distrelling sight of, a amiable people, exasperated by extortions of kinds, which they had, been exposed to during course of forty years; a people who were sink ing under the enormous, weight of their presentiery; and who were in the utmost despat at foreseeing that time, that great resource of the

vretched, would bring no relief to their diffresses, BOOK out would probably aggravate them. The cre- IV. litors of the state, who did not constitute a thouandth part of the citizens, who were most of hem known only by their depredations, and the nost upright of whomi acquired from the public reasury the affluence they enjoyed, appeared obects less interesting to these politicians. In the grievous necessity of facrificing one part of the nation to the other, it was their opinion that the lenders should be the victims.

THE regent, after some deliberations, refused to adopt so violent a measure, which he thought would inevitably fix an indelible stain upon his administration. He chose rather to institute a strict inquiry into the public engagements, than to submit to a disgraceful bankruptcy, the publi-

city of which he thought might be avoided.

An office for the revision of accounts, established on the 7th of December 1715, reduced fix hundred millions \* of stock payable to bearer, to two hundred and fifty millions † in government bonds; and yet the national debt, after this operation, amounted still to two thousand and fixty-two millions one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and one livres t.

This enormous debt suggested the idea of appointing, in the month of March 1716, a bed of justice, to call those to account who had been the authors of the public calamities, or who had profined by them. This inquiry served only to expose to public view the incapacity of the ministers who had been intrufted with the management of the finances, the craft of the farmers of the revenue who had swallowed them up, and the base-

<sup>\* 25,000,000].</sup> 

<sup>+ 10,416,6661. 135, 4</sup>d.

BOOK ness of the courtiers, who had sold their intens to the first bidder. By this experiment, hond minds were confirmed in the abhorrence the always had entertained for such a tribunal. I degrades the dignity of the prince who fails to fulfil his engagements, and exposes to the people the vices of a corrupt administration. It is in jurious to the rights of the citizen, who is ac countable for his actions to none but the law. I strikes terror into the rich, who are marked on as delinquents, merely because they are rich, b their fortunes well or ill gotten. It gives encou ragement to informers, who point out as fit of jects for tyranny fuch as it may be advantageou to ruin. It is composed of unmerciful leeches who see guilt wherever they suspect there is wealth It spares plunderers, who know how to screen

interests of the treasury to the caprices of a set greedy, profligate, and extravagant favourites.

All the springs of the state were destroyed before this resource, which bore evident marks of the passion of the state were destroyed before this resource, which bore evident marks of the state of the state of the state of the scanne still more desperate, after this convultive effort. The members of the state lost the little they had less of energy and life; so that it became necessary treamingate the corpse. This resurrection was to an impossible thing, because there was a genera disposition prevailing to make use of any remedic that were proposed; the difficulty was to propose one but such as would be effectual: the celebrat

themselves by a seasonable sacrifice of part of the riches, and spoils honest men who think them selves secure in their innocence. It sacrifices the

ed Law made the attempt.

Methods
This Scotchman was one of those projectors
by Law, to or state empirics, who are constantly roaming
recover about the courts of Europe, displaying their ta

lents

ents, and hurried on, by a restless disposition. BOOK le was a deep calculator; and at the fame time, IV. which appears rather inconfiftent, endowed with nances of most lively and ardent imagination. His turn France of mind and character proved agreeable to the from the egent, over whose understanding he soon gained confusion influence. Law engaged himself that he into which sould re establish the finances of the kingdom, fallen and eafily prevailed upon that prince, who was a Part taken man of diffipation and genius, to countenance a Company plan which promifed him wealth and reputation, in the ex-We shall now give an account of the series and ecution of refult of his operations. jects.

FIRST, he was allowed, in the month of May 1716, to establish a bank at Paris, the capital of which was to confift of fix millions of livres \*, to be formed by twelve hundred shares, of three

thousand livres + each.

This bank was not permitted to make any loan. It was prohibited from entering into any kind of trade, and it's engagements were to be at fight. Every native, and every foreigner, might place their money in it; and it engaged to make all the payments, for the deduction of five fols t upon every three thousand livres §. The bills, which it gave out at a very moderate difcount, were paid in all the provinces by the directors of the mint, who were it's agents, and who, on their part, drew upon it's treatury. It's paper was equally received in all the principal places in Europe, at the ordinary course of exchange, at the time it became due.

THE success of this new establishment confounded the opponents of it's founder, and, perhaps, went beyond his own expectations. It's influence was felt even from the first. A rapid

\* 250,0001, + 125l. T 2d.h. § 1251,

circula-

BOOK circulation of money, which had so long icu ed inactive, from the general millrust that vailed, foon brought every thing into mou again. Agriculture, manufactures, and the ar were revived. All articles of confumption r fumed their former courfe. The merchants, fine ing their bills of exchange discounted at five p cent, and getting fecurities for them which were good as specie, renewed their speculations Usu was put a stop to, because persons of propen found themselves compelled to lend their money: the same interest as the bank did. When foreigne were able to rely upon the nature of the paymen they might have to make, they made fresh demand for productions, from the purchaling of which they did not abstain without regret. To the gree aftonishment of all nations, the exchange role t the advantage of France.

This was a confiderable step; but it was no doing all that was possible or necessary. In the month of March 1717 it was decreed, that th bills of the bank should be received at all th offices in payment of the taxes, and that the should be paid at fight, and without discount, b those who were intrusted with the management the public money. By this important regulation the produce of the taxes was detained in th provinces, the expence attending the carriage of money was faved both to the fovereign and to th public, and the numerous as well as uteless circu lations it underwent, through the hands of a mul tiplicity of agents, were avoided. This operation, which carried the credit of the bank to th highest pitch, was equally useful to the govern ment. The imposts were now collected, not only without those acts of violence, which for so long a time past had raised clamours against the ad ministration, and urged the people to acts of despera

desperation; but also the public revenues were BOOK continually and rapidly increased, in a manner which could not fail to bring about a fortunate

change in the fituation of government.

The unexpected appearance of fo many advantages, made Law be confidered as a man of judgment, of extensive and elevated genius, who despised riches, and was ambitions of fame, and who wished to transmit his name to posterity by great acts. The gratitude of the people role to - high, that he was thought worthy of the most honourable and public monuments. This bold and enterpriling foreigner availed himself of a disposition to favourable to him, in haftening the execution of a project, which had for a long time engaged his attention.

In the month of August 1717, he obtained permission to establish the Western Company, the rights of which were at first confined to the exclusive trade of Louisiana, and of the beavers of Canada. The privileges formerly granted for the trade to Africa, to the East-Indies, and to. China, were foon incorporated with those of the new establishment. These companies, thus united. projected the paying off of the national debt. In order to put them in a condition to accomplish to . great a delign, government granted them the fale of tobacco, the coinage, the excite duties, and

the farms general.

In order to hasten the revolution, Law obtained on the 4th of December 1718, that the bank which he had established two years before, and which, while it's interests were distinct from those of the state, had been of so great utility, should be erected into a royal bank. It's bills paffed as current coin between individuals, and they were taken in payment at all the royal treasuries.

DOOK The first operations of the new fistem gavenus pany, most of them bought with governmen bills, and which, upon an average, did not reall cost five hundred hires, rose to the value of te thousand hivres, payable in bank bills. Sue was the general infatuation, that not only native but foreigners, and men of the best understanding fold their stock, their lands and their jewels is order to play at this extraordining game.

filver were in no kind of estimation, nothing but paper currency was fought after

Ir was not, perhaps, impossible, but that the enthusiasm might have been kept up for a suf ficient length of time, to have been productive fome advantage, if Law's views had been im plicitly followed This calculator, notwithstand ing the boldness of his principles, was desirous of limiting the number of shares, although he never could have been compelled to reimburse them But he was more particularly determined not to distribute bank bills to the amount of more that ten or twelve hundred millions of livres 1 1 hr was supposed to be the value of the specie circu lating in the Lingdom, and he flattered himfelf that by these operations, he should collect in the king s coffers a fufficient quantity of it, to enable him to pay off any persons who might be desirou of changing their paper currency into money A plan which in itself was so little likely to succeed was still further disconcerted by the conduct of the regent

This prince had received from nature a quick and penetrating fiprit, an uncommon flare of memory, and a found understanding. He acquired by study a manly degree of eloquence, and

exquifite discernment, a taste for the fine arts, BOOK and a proficiency in them. In war, he displayed, much valour; and in the management of civil affairs, great dexterity and frankness. His character, and the circumstances of the times, contributed to place him in some delicate situations, by which he gained a complete knowledge of mankind, and an early experience. The kind of differace in which he had lived for a long time, had given him focial manners, so that he was easy of access; and in any intercourse with him, no man had reason to fear the being treated with illhumour, or with haughtiness. His conversation was infinuating, and his manners perfectly graceful. He was of a benevolent disposition, or at least assumed the appearance of it.

These amiable and estimable qualities did not produce the great effects that were expected from them. The want of firmness in Philip rendered all these advantages useless to the nation. He had never strends, to his enemies, to his mistesses, and especially to his favourite Dubois, the most corrupt and profligate of men. This inability of refusing manifested itself particularly at the time of the system. In order to glut the cupidity of all those who had the impudence to say, or to think that they were useful, he created six hundred and twenty-sour thousand shares, the value of which rose to above six thousand millions of livres 1, and gave out bank bills to the amount of 2,696,400,000 livres +.

A DISPROPORTION so enormous, between the paper currency and the coin, might possibly have been supported in a free nation, where it had been brought on by degrees. The citizens, accustom-

<sup>\* 250,000,000</sup>l.

B O O k ed to confider the nation as a permanent and in dependent body, truft to it's fecurity the more readily, as they are feldom thoroughly acquainted with it's powers, and have a good opinion of its equity, founded on experience. Upon the strength of this favourable prejudice, credit is often stretched in those states beyond the real resources and securities of the nation. This is not the case in absolute monarchies, especially such as have often broken their engagements. If in times of public infatuation an implicit confidence be shewn, it is but for a little while. Their insolvency become evident. The honesty of the monarch, the mort gage, the stock, every thing appears imaginary. The creditor, recovered from his delirium, de mands his money with a degree of impatience proportionable to his uneassness. The history of the system corroborates this truth.

The defire of putting off those, who first recovered from the general phrenzy, were wishing to convert their paper into money, mide it ne cessary to have recourse to expedients, such as could only have been suggested by the most in veterate opposer of the system Gold was prohibited in trade. All the citizens were forbidden to keep by them more thin five hundred lives sin special for the coin were declared by edict. These tyrannical proceedings not only put a stop to the demands, but likewise reduced some timid per sons to the cruel necessity of throwing more stockinto the bank. But this temporary successed a imprudently opened.

In order to prop up an edifice which was tumbling to pieces on all fides, it was decreed,

that the standard for the coin should be raised to BOOK eighty-two livres ten fols the mark; that the bank bills should be reduced to half of their value, and the shares to five ninths. This mode of reducing the disproportion between the paper currency and the coin, was, perhaps, the least unreasonable that could have been adopted in the desperate situation of affairs at that time; it completed, however, the general confusion. The consternation became universal; every man thought he had loft the half of his fortune, and haftened to call in the remainder. The coffers were empty, and the flock-holders found they had been deluded by mere chimeras. Then it was that Law difappeared, and with him the expectation, abfurdly entertained, of obtaining the refloration of the public finances, through his means. Every thing fell into confusion.

It did not feem possible to clear up this chaos. In order to attempt it, on the 26th of January 1721, an office was created, into which the life annuities, and perpetual annuities, the shares, the bank bills; in a word, all papers bearing the mark of the royal authority, of whatever kind, were to be deposited in the course of two months, and their validity was afterwards to be discussed.

(IT was found by this examination, so celebrated under the title of VIIa, that bank bills had been circulated to the amount of 2,696,400,000 livres † of these was burnt, and not reckoned in the siquidation. The slock-holders were condemned to a restitution of 187,893,661 livres \$, and other modes were contrived to durinish the national debt. The political machine began now to refume

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<sup>\* 31. 84. 91. + 112,350,000].</sup> I 29,471,9771. 101. \$ 7,808,9121. 101. 10d.

BOO Kit's motions, but they were neither easy, nor eien , regular.

In whatever manner the finances of the kingdom were afterwards administered, they were never adequate to the expences. This is a di-tressing fact, the demonstration of which we have besore our eyes. In vain vere taxes multiplied; wants, fancies, and depredations, were still increased beyond them; and the treasury became more and more in debt. At the death of Lewis XV. the public revenues role to 375,331,874 livres. But the engagements, notwithstanding the multitude of bankruptcies that had been made, amounted to 190,858,531 livres +. There remained, therefore, no more than 184,473,343 livres ; the expences of the flate required 210,000,000 livres [; consequently there was a deficiency of 25,526,657 livres & in the trafury.

THE public suppose, that a better use will be made of the revenue under the present reign Their expectations are founded upon the love of order, the contempt of pomp, the spirit of justice, and those other plan and modest virtues, which feemed to crowd about the throne when

Lewis XVI. ascended it.

Young Prince! thou who haft been able to preserve an abhorrence of vice and dislipation in the midst of the most dissolute of courts, and under the weakest of preceptors, condescend to hear me with indulgence, because I am an honest man, and one of thy best subjects; because I have no pretentions to thy favour, and that every morning and evening I lift up my 'hands

7,952,4381 15s. rod. 8,750,0001.

<sup>15,638,8281. 13 8</sup>d. \$ 1,0636,3891 55. 1cd. \$ 1,063,6101, 133,4d.

no heaven, praying for the good of mankind, BOOK and for the prosperity and glory of thy reign.

The boldness with which I shall venture to tell thee truths that thy predecessor never heard from the mouths of his flatterers, and which thou wilt not be more likely to hear from those who approach thee, is the best culogium I can make of thy character.

Thou reignest over the finest empire in the universe. Notwithstanding the decline into which it is fallen, there is no place upon the earth where the arts and sciences sustain themselves with so much lustre. The neighbouring nations are in want of thy affiftance, while thou canft maintain thyself without their's. If thy provinces were to enjoy all the fertility of which they are susceptible; if thy troops, without being much more numerous were as well disciplined as they could be; if thy revenues, without being increased, were more faithfully administered; if a spirit of acconomy directed the expences of thy ministers, . and of thy palace; if thy debts were paid off: what power on earth would be so formidable as thine?

SAY, where is the monarch who rules over fubjects fo patient, fo faithful, and fo affectionate? Is there a people more frank, more active, or more induftrious? Has not all Europe derived from them that focial spirit which so happily distinguishes the present period from all preceding ugss. Have not standarden of all countries promounced thy empire to be inexhaustible? Then thyself with even be sensible of the whole extent of these resources, if thou say it to thyself which out delay: "I am young, but my only wish it to "do good. Firmness gets the better of all comfactes. Let me only be presented with a more be, "I stall the standard of the stall the standard of the standard of

BOOK" I shall not be alarmed." Prince, thou hast \_\_ commanded, and I hasten to obey. If while I am speaking, one tear does but steal from thine

eyes, our prefervation is at hand.

WHEN an unexpected event placed the sceptre in thine unexperienced hands, the French nasy for one moment, one fingle awful moment, had ceased to exist. Weakness, disorder, and corruption, had re-plunged it into that state of annihilation, from which it had emerged at the most brilliant æra of the monarchy. It had neither been able to defend our diftant possessions, nor to preserve our coasts from invasion and plunder. In all the regions of the globe, our feamen, and our merchants were exposed to ruinous oppressions, and to mortifications infinitely more intolerable.

THE forces and treasures of the nation, had been lavished for interests, foreign, and perhaps repugnant to our own. But what is gold, or what is blood, in comparison of honour? Our arms, formerly so much dreaded, inspired no more any kind of terror. We were scarce allowed to have

courage.

Our ambassadors, who for so long a time had appeared in foreign courts less to negotiate, than to manifest the intentions, I had almost said the will, of their mafters; our ambaffadors were now dspiled. The most important transactions were concluded without any communication with them-Powers in alliance with us, divided empires amongst themselves without our knowledge. Was it pollible to declare in a more infuling, and less equivocal manner, the little weight we were confidered to have in the general balance of the political affairs of Europe? What was become of the dignuy and respect of the French name?

Such is, young fovereign, thy fituation with BOOK but the lunits of thine tempire. Thou do'ft caft IV. lown thine eyes, and dareft not to look at it. The nternal view of thy kingdom will not afford thee

more comfortable prospect.

In proof of this, I call to witness that succession of bankruptcies which have happened from year to year, from month to month, under the reign of thy predecessor. Thus it is, that the utmost degree of indigence hath intentibly been brought on a multirude of subjects, who had incurred no other reproach, than that of having indifcreetly trufted their fortune to their fovereigns, and of having over-rated the estimation of their sacred promile. We should be ashamed of a breach of faith, even with an enemy; and kings, the fathers of their country, are not ashamed to break their words in this cruel and base manner with their children! Abominable proftitution of their oaths! It might still be some kind of consolation to thefe, unfortunate persons, if, they had fallen victims to the necessity of circumstances, or to the urgency of the public wants, which are ever renewed: but these acts of perfidy have been executed after years of a long peace, without there appearing any other motive for them, than the abandoning of the plunder of the public finances to a multitude of perfons as vile as they were rapacious. Behold the chain of them, defeending from the upper steps of the throne, and extending from thence to the howest ranks of .fociety. Behold what is the confequence, when the monarch separates his interests from those of his people,

Case thine eyes upon the capital of thine empire, and thou wilt find in it two orders of citizens. The first, gorged with riches, display a luxury which raises the indignation of those Vol. II.

BOOK whom it does not feduce, the others, are oppressively a dwith indigence, which they increase by a furning the appearance of affluence that does not belong to them for fich is the power of gold when it is become the idol of a nation, that it is sufficient for every talent, and for every vittle antomuch that a finan must either have riches, and make it be thought that he has Among is heap of dissolute men, thou wilt see some lab rious, honest, economical, and industrious cr

of all public functions, and always ready to quarter country because they are not allowed to take root by the acquisition of property in a state where they exist, without civil honour, and with out security

Turn thy view towards the provinces when

zens, half proferibed by the erroneous laws, who the fpirit of intoleration hath dictated, deprite

every species of industry is upon the declar. Thou wit fee them finking under the load of taxi and under the oppressions, as diversified as the are cruel, of the numberless satellites attending of the contractors.

the contractors

AFBR this, take a review of the country, an behold if thou can'ft, with an unweeping eye, if man who enriches us condemned to perily with man who enriches us condemned to perily with mistry; the unfortunate farmer, who fearce it tains from the lands that he has cultivated a funcient quantity of fraw to cover his hut, and make himfelf a bed Echold the protected extortioner, roaming about his poor habitation, in hopes of finding, in the appearance of fome little improvement in h a wretched fituation, the pretence of it doubling his extortions

Behold multitudes of men, who have no possessions, quitting, from the

earlieft dawn, their dwelling, with their wives, their children, and their cettle, in order to proceed without wages, and without food, to the

making

naking of roads, the advantage of which is en-BCOK irely for those who engross all pollessions.

I PERCEIVE that thy feeling heart is overwhelmd with grief, and thou doest alk with a ligh, what is the remedy to fuch a variety of evils? Thou shalt be told it, thou shalt tell it to thyself But thou must first be informed that the monarch, who hath none but pacific virtues, may fecure the iffection of his fubjects, and that there is nothing, except fortitude, which can make him 'respected by his neighbours, thou must be informed, that kings have no relations, and that family compacts last no longer than the contracting parties find their interest in them, that there is still less confidence to be reposed in thy alliance with an artful house, which requires a strict observation of the treaties made with it, without ever being at a loss for a presence to elude the conditions of them, when they stand in the way of at's own aggrandizement, thou must be informed, that a king, the only man who knows not whether he has a true friend near him, cannot possibly have one out of his dominions, and must therefore rely only upon himfelf, that an empire can no more fublish without morals, and without virtue, than a private family, that it haftens on in the fame manner to it's ruin by diffipation, and is equally unable of recovering itself without economy; thou must be informed, that pomp adds nothing to the majesty of the throne, that one of thy ancestors never appeared more great than when attended by a few guards, which he had even no occidion for, more plainly clothed than any one of his subjects, and with his back resting against an oak, he heard all complaints that were addressed to him, and determined every dispute, thou must be informed, in a word, that thy kingdom will recover from the aby is digged by thy prede-Нí ceffors,

BOOK ceffors, if thou wilt take upon thyself to regulat iv thy conduct, upon the model of that of a rich in dividual, loaded with debt, and yet honest enough to be defirous of answering the inconsiderate er gagements of his ancestors, and just enough to re ject, with indignation, every tyrannical proceed ing that might be fuggefted to him.

Ask thyself in the course of the day, . the night, in the midft of the tumult of thy cour in the retirement of thy closet, when thou reflect, and in what moment oughtest thou not t reflect upon the happiness of twenty-two million of people whom thou cherishest, who have an al fection for thee, and who anticipate by their wife the time when they may adore thee: ask thyseli I say, whether thy intention be to perpetuate th abfurd profusion of thy palace

WHETHER thou wilt keep that multitude o high and fubaltern officers who devour thee.

WHLTHER thou wilt continue the expensiv maintenance of that number of useless castle with the enormous falaries granted to those wh govern them.

WHETHER thou wilt still double and treble th expences of thy household, by journeys as cost as they are useless,

WHETHER thou wilt diffipate in scandalous fei

tivals the subsistence of thy people.

WHETHER thou wilt allow that tables of ruinous game, the fource of debasement and cor ruption, should be fixed under thy own inspec tion

WHETHER thou wilt fuffer thy treasury t be exhausted, in order to keep up the pomp of thy relations, and to maintain them in a flate the magnificence of which shall be emulous o thine own.

WHETHER thou wilt suffer, that, the example BOOK f a treacherous luxury should disorder the senses, IV. f our women, and drive their husbands to de-

WHETHER thou wilt facrifice every day for the eed of thy horses, a quantity of sublistence suffinent to nourish several thousands of thy subjects, who are penshing with hunger and misery.

WHETHER thou wilt still grant to certain memiers of the state, already too amply gratified, and o some military men, already enjoying a consilerable stipend during a long series of years passed n idleness, sums of an extraordinary magnitude, or operations which it is their duty to perform, and which in every other government, except hine, they would be obliged to execute at their wn expence.

WHETHER thou wilt perfift in the fruitless soffession of immense domains which yield thee nothing, and the alienation of which, while it night serve to discharge part of thy debt, would ncrease both thine own income and the riches of the nation. The man to whom every thing pelongs as fovereign, ought not to possels any thing is a private man.

WHETHER thou wilt give way to the infatiable widity of thy courtiers, and of the courtiers of

thy relations.

WHETHER thou wilt permit that the nobles, the magistrates, and all powerful, and protected persons in thy kingdom, should continue to cast off from their own shoulders the burden of the taxes, in order to make it fall with greater weight upon the people. A species of extortion against which the groans of the oppressed, and the remonstrances of enlightened men, have so long and so unavailingly been uttered ı,

WHETHER

## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

WHETHER thou wilt confirm to a body of men, who are in pofferion of a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom, the, abfurd privilege of taxing themselyes at diference, and under the title of grauitous offerings, which they are not assaud to give to their subsidies, to signify to thee that they owe thee nothing; that they are not the less entitled to thy protection, and to all the advantages of society, without taking upon themselves any of the duties of it, and that thou hast no right to any return of gratitude from them.

WHEN to these several questions thou hast of thyself given those just and fincere answers which thy feeling and royal heart shall dictate, let thy actions correspond with them. Be firm. Suffer not thyfelf to be shaken by any of those reprefentations which duplicity or personal interest may finggest to restrain thee, perhaps even to inspire iee with terror; and be affured that thou wilt ion be the most revered, and the most formidale potentate of the earth. YES, Lewis XVI, fuch is the fortune that waits thee; and it is in the confidence that thou ult attain to it, that I still remain attached to life. have but one word more to fay to thee, but that of importance. It is, that thou shouldst consider s the most dangerous of impostors, as the most nveterate enemy of our happiness and of thy gloy, the impudent flatterer, who shall not hefitate o lull thee into a state of fatal tranquillity; either by representing to thee in a fainter light, the difressful picture of thy situation; or by exaggeratng the impropriety, the danger, and the difficulty,

of employing the resources that may occur to thy nind.

Thou wilt hear it whispered around thee: These things cannot be done; and even if they could, they are innovations. Innovations let them be. But all

the discoveries that have been made in the arts and B O O K sciences, have they not been equally 60? Is then the art of good government the only one that cannot be improved? Or are we to reckon as innovations, the general assembly of a great, nation, the restoration of primitive I berty, and the respectable exertion of the first acts of natural justice?

Ar the fall of the fiftem, the government gave S turion up to the India Company the monopoly of tobre India co, in dicharge of the ninety millions of livres company they had lent it also granted them the exclusive at the fall privilege of all the lotteries in the kingdom, and fiftem allowed them to convert into life anunities and tontines part of their theres. There remained only to the number of fifty fix thouland of thefe, which, by subsequent events, we e reduced to fifty thousand two hundred fixty eight and four tenths Unfortunately, this fociety preferred the privi-leges of the feveral companies out of which it had been formed, and this prerogative added neither to it's wistom or power, it confined the negro trade, and stopped the progress of the sugar colo-nies Most of it's privileges served only to autho-rize odious monopolies. The most servile regions upon earth, when occupied by the Company, were neither peopled nor cultivated. The spirit of finance, which reftrains purfuits as much as the commercial fpirit enlarges them, became, and has ever fince continued, the spirit of the Company. The directors thought only of turning to their own advantage the rights ceded to the Company in Afia, Africa, and America It became a fociety of contractors, rather than of merchants Nothing could possibly be faid in praise of their administradebts accumulated in India for a century paft and

BOOK taken care to secure Pondicherry against any inva-IV. , fion, by furrounding it with walls. Their trade was but trifling and precarious, till Orry was ap-

pointed to superintend the finances of the nation. THAT upright and difinterested minister sullied cels of the Company; his virtues by a harshness of temper, which he with an apologized for in a manner not much to the credit account of of the nation. One day when a friend was reit's agents proaching him with the roughness of his manners, to whom, he answered, How can I behave otherwise? Out of a bundred people I see in a day, fifty take me for a onen.

fool, and fifty for a knave. He had a brother named Fulvy, who was less rigid in his principles, but had more affability, and a greater share of capacity. He intrusted him with the concerns of the Company, which could not but flourish under such 

NOTWITHSTANDING the former prejudices and 'those which still 'prevailed;' notwithstanding the abhorrence the public had for any remans of Law's system; notwithstanding the authority of the Sorbonne, which had decided that the dividend upon the shares 'came' under the denomination of usury; notwithstanding the blindness of a nation, credulous enough not to be shocked at so absurd a decision; yet still the two brothers found means to convince Cardinal Fleury, that it was proper to support the India Company in an effectual manner. They even prevailed upon that minister, more skilful in the art of managing

riches, than in that of increasing them, to lavish the king's favours upon this effablishment. The care of superintending it's trade, and of enlarging it's powers, was afterwards committed to feveral persons of known abilities. DUMAS was fent to Pendicherry. He foon obtained leave of the court of Delhi to commoney; which privilege was worth four five hundred

thousand

thousand livres a year. He obtained a cession of BOOR the territory of Karical, which entitled him to a ronsiderable share in the trade of Tanjour. Some time after, a hundred thousand Marattas invaded the Decan. They attacked the Nabob of Arcor, who was canquisted and slain. Hissfamily, and several of his subjects, took refuge in Pondichetry. They were received with all the kindness due to allies in distress. Ragogi Boussous the general of the victorious army, demanded, that they should be delivered up to him; and surther required the payment of 1,200,000 livres † in vitue of a tribute, which he pretended the French had formerly submitted to. If the 1,200,000 livres is not the sure of the pretended the French had formerly submitted to. If the 1,200,000 livres is not the sure of the sure

Dum as made answer, That so long as the Moguls had been mafters of that country, they had always treated the French with the respect due to one of the most illustrious nations in the world. which, in her turn, took a pride in protecting her benefactors; that it/was contrary to the character of that magnanimous nation to deliver up a number of women and children, and of unfortunate and defenceless men, to see them put to death; that the fugitives then in the town were under the protection of his king, who effected it his highest honour to be the protector of the diffressed; that every Frenchman in Pondicherry would cheerfully die in their defence; and that his own life was forfested, if his fovereign were to know that he had to much as littered to the mention of a tribute. .He added, that he was ready to defend the place to the lnfl extremity; and if he flould be over-powered, he would get on board his flips, and return to Europe: that Ragogi might confider . whether he choic to expose his army to utter de-· ftruction, when the greatest advantage that could

BOOK be obtained by it was to take possession of a heap IV of ruins.

THE Indians had not been accustomed to hear the French talk with so much dignity. This boldness staggered the general of the Marattas; and, after some negociations skilfully carried on, he determined to grant peace to Pondicherry.

WHILST Dumas was procuring wealth and refpect to the Company, the government fent la Rourdonnais to the life of France.

Bourdonnais to the lile of France

THE Portuguese, at the time of their first voyages to India, had discovered to the east of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degrees of latitude, three islands, to which they gave the names of Mascarenhas, Cerné, and Rodrigue. There they found neither men nor quadrupeds, and attempted no fettlement upon either of the islands. The most western of them, which had been called Mascarenhas, had for it's first inhabitants, about the year 1660, feven or eight hundred Frenchmen Five years after this they were joined by two and twenty of their countrymen. Their number was foon further increased by the calamity which destroyed the colony of Madagascar. The breeding of cattle was the first resource of these adventurers, transplanted under a new fky They afterwards cultivated European corn, Afiatic and African fruits, and fome vegetables fit for that mild climate The health, plenty, and freedom they enjoyed, induced feveral navigators, who came there for refreshments and fubliftence, to fettle among them Industry was extended with population In 1718, the discoevery of a few wild coffee-trees suggested the idea of transplanting some coffee-trees from Arabia, which throve extremely well The culture of this precious tree, and other laborious employments, were performed by flaves from the coast of Africa,

or from Madagascar. Then the island, which BOOK had changed it's name from Mascarenhas to the IV. isle of Bourbon, became an important object to the Company. There was, unfortunately, no harbour in the colony.

This inconvenience turned the views of the French minister at Versailles towards the island of Cerné, where the Portuguese had, as usual, left fome quadrupeds and fowls for the benefit of fuch of their ships as necessity should oblige to touch there. The Dutch, who afterwards took poffession of it, forsook it in 1712, from an apprehenfion of multiplying their fettlements too much. The island was uninhabited when the French landed there in 1720, and changed it's name from Mauritius to the Isle of France, which it still bears.

It's first inhabitants came over from Bourbon. and were forgotten for fifteen years. They only formed, as it were, a corps de garde, with orders to hang out a French flag, to inform all nations that the island had a master. The Company, long undetermined, decided at last for keeping it, and in 1735 la Bourdonnais was commissioned to im-

prove it.

This man, who has fince been fo famous, was born at St. Malo, and had been at fea from the age of ten years; no fort of confideration had been able to interrupt his voyages, in every one of which he had fignalized himself by some re-markable action. The Arabs and Portuguese, who were preparing to massacre one another in the road of Mocha, had been reconciled through his mediation, and he had displayed his valour in the war at Mahé. He was the first Frenchman who ever thought of fending armed veffels into the Indian' feas. He was known to be equally skilful in the art of ship-building, as in that of BOOK navigating and defending a flip His schemes

To bore the mark of genius, nor were his views on-

tracted by the close attention he paid to all the minute details of whatever he undertook. His mind was never alarmed with the appearance of difficulties, and he possessed the rare rulent of in spiring the men under his command with the same elevation of spirit. His enemies have reproached him with an immoderate passion for riches, and

him with an immoderate passion for riches, and it must be acknowledged he was not ferupulous in the means of acquiring them.

He was no sooner arrived at the life of France, than he made it his business to acquire every information he could concerning it, in which he was much affilted by his fortunate fagacity, and his indefritigable activity. In a little time he endeavoured to inful a spirit of emulation into the first colonists on the island, who were entirely discouraged at the neglect with which they had been treated, and attempted to reduce to a strict substitution the vagrants lately arrived from the mother country. He made them cultivate rice

treated, and attempted to reduce to a first subordination the vagrants lately arrived from the
mother country. He made them cultivate rice
and wheat, for the substitute of the Europeans,
and cassa, which he had brought from Brazil,
for the slaves. They were to be furnished from
Madagascar with ment for the daily consumption
of the inhabitants and of sea faring men, till the
cattle shey had procured from thence should mil
tiply so considerably, as to prevent the necessity
of importing any more. A post which he had
established on the little island of Rodrigue, abun
dantly supplied the lick with turtle. Here sings
going to lind a soon found all the refreshments.

established on the little island of Rodrigue, abun dantly supplied the sick with turtle. Here supplied to lad a soon found all the refreshments and conveniences they wanted after a tedious passing. Three supplies one of which carried sich hundred tons burden, were equipped and fent from the doel she had constructed. If the sounder had not the frussaction of bringing the colony

to the utmost degree of prosperity it was capable B O O K of, at least he had the credit of having discovered what degree of importance it might acquire in able hands.

THESE improvements, however, though they feemed to be owen to inchantment, did not meet with the approbation of those who were principally concerned in them, and la Bourdonnais was compelled to justify himself. One of the directors was asking him one day how it happened that he had conducted the assars of the Company so ill, while he had taken so much care of his own? Because, said he, I have managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the Company accord-

ing to your directions.

GREAT men have been in all parts more useful to the public than large collective bodies. Nations and focieties are but the instruments of men of agenius; these have been, the real founders of states and colonies. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, owe their foreign conquests and fettlements to able warriors, experienced seamen, and legislators of superior talents. France especially is more indebted to some fortunate individuals for the glory she has acquired, than to the form of her government. One of these superior men had just established the power of France over two important islands in Africa; another still more extraordinary, added splendour to the French name in Asia; this was Duplers.

Whe was first fern to the banks of the Ganges, where he superintended the colony of Chandernagore. That settlement, though formed in a part of the globe the best adapted for great commercial undertakings, had been in a languad state, till he took the management of it. The Company had not been able to fend any considerable lunds to it; and the agents, who went over there with-

BOO Rout any property of their own, had not been able to avail themselves of the liberry that was allowed them of advancing their own private affairs. The activity of the new governor, who brought an ample fortune, the reward of ten years successful labours, soon spread throughout the colony, In a country abounding with money they soon found credit, when once they shewed themselves deferving of it. In a short time, Chandernagore excited the admiration of it's neighbours, and the envy of it's rivals. Dupleix, who had engaged the rest of the French in his wast speculations, opened fresh sources of commerce throught the Mogul's dominions, and as far as Thibet.

a his arrival he had not found a single sloop, a his arrival he had not found a single sloop.

the Gulph of Perfia, to Surat, to Goa, to Middle and Miles and Mil

the Guiph of Perita, to Surat, to Goa, to e Maldives and Manilla Iflands, and to all the as where there was a possibility of trading to adintage.

DUPLEIX had for twelve years supported the mour of the French name on the Ganges, and creased the revenue of the public, as well as the avate fortunes of individuals, when he was call1 to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general
1 to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general
1 to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general
1 to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general
2 to company's affairs in
1 idia. They were then in a more flourishing
2 and interest flourishing
2 and in the process of the type are mounted
2 to twenty-four millions. Had they been still
2 onducted with prudence, and had more confi2 lence been placed in two such men as Dupleix
2 and 1 a Bourdonnais, it is probable that, such as

power would have been established as would not BOOK have been eafily destroyed.

LA BOURDONNAIS faw an approaching rupture with England; and proposed a scheme which would have secured to the French the sovereignty of the feas in Afia, during the whole course of the war. Convinced, that which ever nation should first take up arms in India, would have a manifest advantage over the other, he defired to be furnished with a fquadron; with which he intended to fail to the Ifie of France, and there wait till hostilities began! He was then to fet out from that island, in order to go and cruize in the straits of Sunda; through which most of the ships pass that are going to, or coming from China. There he would have intercepted all the English ships, and faved those of the French. He would have even taken the small squadron; which England sent into those latitudes; and, having thus made himself master of the Indian seas, would have ruined all the English settlements in those parts! ...... The ministry approved of this plan, and granted him five men of war, with which he put to lea.

"HE had scarcely fet fail, when the directors, equally offended at their being kept in the dark with regard to the deftination of the foundron, and at the expences it had occasioned them, and . gealous of the advantage this appointment would give to a man who, in their opinion, was already too independent, exclaimed against this armament las they had done before, and declared it to be useless. They were, for pretended to be, so fully convinced of the neutrality that would be observ-'ed in India between the two companies, that they perfuaded the minister in that opinion, when la Bourdonnais was no longer present to animate him, and guide his inexperience.

BOOK. THE court of Verfailles was not aware that a power, supported chiefly by trade, would not easily be induced to leave them in quiet possession of the Indian ocean; and that aif the either made or liftened to any proposals of mentrality; it must be only, to gain, time. It was not aware, that, even supposing such an agreement was made bond fide on both lides in thousand unforeseen events might interrupt lt : It-ivas-not aware, that the object proposed totald never be fully answered, because the fea-forces of, both nations not being bound by any private agreement made between the two companies, would attack their thips in the European feas. At was not aware, that in the colonies themselves' preparations would be made to guard against a surprise; that these precautions would create a milituit on both fides; and that miffrust avoild bring on an open, rupture. If All these particulars were not perceived by the court, and the fquadron; was recalled. Hostilities began; and the. loss of almost every French ship:in:India, shewed too late; which of the two was the most judicious fystem of politics levil. Tit. . 10 ... st bentani. LA BOURDONNAIS, was as deeply affected for the errors that had occasioned the misfortunes of the nation, as if he had been guilty of them himfelf, and exetted all his powers to remedy; them. Without magazines, without provisions, without money, he found means by his attention and perseverance to form a squadron; composed of a fixtygun ship, and five merchantmen, which he turned into mencof; war. He ventured to attack the English squadron, beat them, pursued and forced them to quit the coast of Coromandel; he then besieged and took Madrass; the first of the English fertlements. The conqueror was preparing for fresh expeditions, which were certain and easy; but he met with the most violent opposition, which not · · · · ·

only occasioned the loss of the sum of 9,057,000BOOK livres\* he had stipulated for as the ransom of the city, but also deprived him of the success which must necessarily have followed this event

THE Company was then governed by two of the king's commissaries, who were irreconcileable enemies to each other The directors and the inferiot officers had taken part in the quarrel, as they were fwayed by their respective inclinations or interests. The two factions were extremely exasperated against each other That which had caused La Bourdonnais's squadron to be taken from him, was enraged to see that he had found resources in himself, which frustrated every attack that was made upon him. There is good reason to believe, that this faction purfued him to India. and inftilled the poison of jealousy into the heart of Dupleix, Two men formed to esteem and love each other, to adorn the French name, and perhaps to descend together to posterity, became the vile tools of an animolity in which they were not the least interested. Dupleix opposed La Bourdonnais, and made him lose much time. The latter, after having stand too long on the coast of Coromandel, waiting for the succours which had been unnecessarily delayed, faw his fquadron destroyed by a storm The crews were disposed to mutiny. So many misfortunes, brought on by the intrigues of Dupleix, determined La Bourdonnais to return to Europe, where a horrid dungeon was the reward of his glorious fervices, and the end of the hopes which the nation had built upon his great talents The English, delivered from that formidable enemy in India, and confiderably reinforced, found themselves in a

\* 377,375l.

BOOK condition to attack the French in their turn; and accordingly laid fiege to Pondicherry.

DUPLLIK then made amends for past errors. He defended the town with great skill and bravery; and after the trenches had been opened fix weeks, the English were forced to raise the siege. The news of the peace arrived foon after, and all hostilities ceased between the companies of both nations.

The taking of Madraís, La Bourdonnais's en-gagement at íea, and the raifing of the fiege of Pondicherry, gave the Indian nations a high opinion of the French; and they were respected in those parts as the first and greatest of the European

powers.

DUPLEIX endeavoured to avail himself of this disposition, and his attention was engaged in procuring folid and important advantages for his nation. In order to judge rightly of his projects, we must lay before the reader a description of the state of Indoftan at that time.

doftan.

Description of inrich country tempted the first conquerors of the world. But whether Bacchus, Hercules, Sesostris, or Darius, did or did not carry their arms through that large portion of the globe, certain it is, that it proved an inexhauftible fund of fictions and wonders to the ancient Greeks. These people, ever credulous, because they were carried away by their imagination, were so inchanted with these marvellous stories, that they still gave credit to them, even in the more enlightened ages of the republic.

> Ir we consider this matter according to the principles of reason and truth, we shall find that a pure air, wholesome food, and great frugality, had early multiplied men to a prodigious degree in Indoltan. They were acquainted with laws, civil

govern-

government and arts, while the rest of the earth BOOK was defert and favage Wife and beneficial in-flitutions preferved these people from corruption, whose only care was to enjoy the benefits of the foil and of the climate. If from time to time their morals were tainted in some of these states, the empire was immediately fubverted, and when Alexander entered these regions, he found very few kings, and many free cities

A COUNTRY divided into numberless little states, some of which were popular, and others enflaved, could not make a very formidable relistance against the hero of Macedonia. His progress therefore was rapid, and he would have fubdued the whole country, had not death overtaken him

in the midft of his triumphs

By following this conqueror in his expeditions, the Indian Sindrocotus had learned the art of war. This obscure man, who had nothing to recommend him but his talents, collected a numerous army, and drove the Macedonians out of the provinces they had invaded. This deliverer of his country then made himfelf mafter of it, and united all Indostan under his dominion. How long he reigned, or what was the duration of the empire he had founded, is not known

Ar the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs over-ran India, as they did many other parts of the world. They subjected some few islands to their dominion, but, content with trading peaceably on the continent, they made but few fettle-

ments on it.

THREE centuries after this, some barbarians of their religion, who came out from Khoraffan headed by Mahmoud, attacked India on the north fide, and extended their depredations as far as Guzarat. They carried off immense spoils from thefe

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BOOK those wealthy provinces, and buried them under IV. ground in their wretched and barren deferts.

THESE calamities were not yet forgotten, when Gengis-Khan, who with his Tartars had subdued the greatest part of Asia, brought his victorious army to the western borders of India. This was about the year 1200. It is not known what part this conqueror and his descendants took in the affairs of Indostan. Probably, they did not concern themselves much about them; for it appears, that foon after, the Patans reigned over this fine country.

THESE men were a fet of savage peasants, who issuing in troops from the mountains of Candahar, spread themselves throughout the finest provinces of Indostan, and established there a succession of

dominions, independent of each other.

THE Indians had scarce had time to accustom themselves to this foreign yoke, when they were once more forced to change masters. Tamerlane, who came from Great Tartary, and was already famous for his cruclties and his victories, advanced to the north fide of Indoftan, at the end of the fourteenth century, with a well-disciplined and triumphant army, inured to all the hardships of war. He secured the northern provinces himself, and abandoned the plunder of the fouthern ones to his lieutenants. He seemed determined to subdue all India, when on a fudden he turned his arms against Bajazet, overcame and dethroned that prince, and by the union of all his conquests found himfelf master of the immense space that extends from the delicious coast of Smyrna to the delightful borders of the Ganges. After his death, violent contests arose, and his posterity were deprived of his rich spoils. Babar, the fixth descendant of one of his children, alone furvived to preferve his name

THAT young prince, brought up in floth and BOOK luxury, reigned in Samarcand, where his anceftor liveled ended his days. The Ufbeck Tartars dethroned him, and constrained him to take refuge in the Cabulistan. Ranguildas, the governor of that province, received him kindly, and supplied him with troops.

This wife man addressed him in the following manner: "It is not towards the north, where "vengeance would naturally call thee, that thy "steps must be directed. Soldiers, enervated by the pleasures of India, could not without rashness attack warriors famous for their courage and their victories. Heaven has conducted thee to the banks of the Indias, in order to fix upon they brow one of the richest diadems in the universe. Turn thy view towards Indostan. That empire, torn in pieces by the incessant wars of the Indians and Patans, calls for a master. It is in those delightful regions that thou must establish a new monarchy, and raise thy glory equal to that of the formidable Tamerlane."

This judicious advice made a ftrong impression on the mind of Babar. A plan of usurpation was immediately traced out, and pursued with activity and skill. Success attended the execution. The northern provinces, not excepting Delhi, submitted after some resistance; and thus a sugitive monarch had the honour of laying the foundation of the power of the Mogul Tartars, which subsists to this day.

The prefervation of this conqueft required a form of government. That which Babar found eftabilified in India, was a kind of defpotifin, merely relative to civil matters, tempered by cuftoms, forms, and opinion; in a word, adapted to that mildness which these nations derive from the influence of the climate, and from the more power-

ful

BOOK ful alcendant of religious tenets. To this peaceable
W. conflitution Babar fubflituted a fevere and military defpoilin, fuch as might be expected from a
victorious and barbarous nation.

Ir we may rely upon the authority of one of the men who is the most deeply versed in Indian traditions, Ranguildas was long witness to the power of the new sovereign, and exulted in the success of his own councils. The recollection of the steps, he had taken to place his master's for upon the throne, filled him with a conscious and real satisfaction.

One day, as he was praying in the temple, he heard a Banian, who stood by him, exclaim, "O "God! thou feeft the sufferings of my brethren. We are a prey to a young, man who considers "us as his property, which he may squander and "consume at pleasure. Among the many chil" dren who call upon thee from these vast regions, one oppresses all the rest: avenge us of "the tyrant; a venge us of the traitors who have" placed him on the throne, without examining whether he was a just man."

RANGUILDAS, aftonified, drew near to the Banian, and faid, "O thou, who curfeft my old "age, hear.me. If I am guilty, myconfeence has missed me. When I reftored the inheritance to the son of my sovereign, when I exposed my life and fortune to establish his authority. God is 'my witness, that I thought I was acting in conformity to his wise decrees; and, at the very instant when I heard thy prayer, I was full thanking heaven for granting me, in my latter days, those two greatest of blessings, rest and glory." "GLORY!" cries the Banian. "Learn, Ran-

"guildas, that glory belongs only to virtue, and not to actions which are only fplendid, without.

"to being tifeful to mankind. Alas! what advan-BOOK rages did you procure to Indoftan when you recovered the fon of an ufurper? Had you previously confidered whether he was capable of doing good, and whether he would have the will and resolution to be just? You say, you

"have reftored to him the inheritance of his fathers, as if men could be bequeathed and possesses of the pos

" titude, go and feek it in the heart of Babar; he owes it you. You have purchased it at a great

" price, the happiness of a whole nation."

BABAR, however, while he was bringing his fubjects under the yoke of despoisin, took care to confine it within certain bounds, and to draw up his institutes with so much force, that his successors, though absolute, could not possibly be unjust. The prince was to be the judge of the people and the arbiter of the state; but his tribural and his council were to fit in public. Injustice and tyranny delight in darkness, that they may conceal themselves from their intended victimus but when the monarch's actions are to be submitted to the inspection of his subjects, it is a sign he intends nothing but their good. Openly to institute a number of men assembled, is such an outgree as even a tyrant would blush at.

The principal fupport of his authority was a body of four thouland men, who filled themselves the first slaves of the prince. Out of this body were chosen the Omrahs, those persons who composed the emperor's council, and on whom he bestowed lands, distinguished by great privileges. This fort of possessions always reverted to the crown. It was on this condition that all great offices were given. So true it is, that desponsin enriches it's slaves only

to plunder them.

BOOK GREAT interest, however, was made for the post of Omrah. Whoever aspired to the government of a province, made this the object of lins ambition. To prevent any projects the governors might form for their own aggrandizement or independence, they always had overseers placed about them, who were not under their controul, and who were commissioned to inspect the use they made of the military force they were intrusted with, to keep the conquered Indians in ave. The fortified towns were frequently in the hands of officers, who were accountable only to the Court. That suspiceous court often sent for it's delegate, and either continued or removed him, as it happened to suit it's sluctuating policy. These changes were grown so common, that a new governor coming out of Delhi, remained upon his elephant with his face turned towards the city, waiting, as he said, to see his successory.

The form of government, however, was not the fame throughout the empire, for the Moguls had left feveral Indian princes in polletion of their fovereignties, and even given them a power of transmitting them to their defeendants. They governed according to the claws of the country, though accountable to a nabob appointed by the court. They were only obliged to pay tribute, and to conform to the conditions stipulated with their ancestors at the time of the conquest.

THE conquering nation could not have committed any confiderable ravages, fince it does not yet conflitute more than a rtenth part of the population of India. There are a hundred millions of Indians to ten millions of Tartars. The two nations have never intermixed. The Indians are the only farmers and artificers. They alone live in the country, and carry on the manufactures. The

Mohammedans are to be found in the capital, at BOOK court, in great cities, in the camps and armies

Ir appears, that at the period when the Moguls entered Indoftan, that country was no longer what it had formerly been The landed property, which, in remote times, had been to firmly fettled in the hands of private persons, was now generally be-come the prey of the depositaries of authority All the lands belonged to the Indian or Patan princes, and it may eafily be imagined that favage, conquerors, funk in ignorance and avarice, did not rectify this abuse, which is the utmost stretch of arbitrary power That portion of the lands of the empire which the new fovereigns call their own, was divided into large governments, which were called subaliships The subalis, who were intrusted with the civil and military government, were also appointed to receive the revenues This they committed to the care of the nabobs, whom they established throughout their subahships, and these again trusted this business to private farmers, whose immediate concern it was to cultivate the lands

At the beginning of their year, which is in June, the nabob's officers agreed with the farmers for the price of their farm. A kind of deed was drawn up, called jamabandi, which was deposited in the chancery of the province, after which, the farmers went, each in his own district, to look for husbandmen, and advanced them considerable sums to enable them to sow the ground. After harvest, the farmers remitted the produce of the harvest, the farmers remitted the produce of believed it to the subob's officers. The nabob delivered it to the subab, and the subab paid it into the emperor's treasury. The agreements were commonly for half the produce of the land, the other half went to pay the charges of culture, to enrich the farmers, and to substitute they

BOOK they employed in tilling the land. In this system were comprised not only corn, which is the principal crop, but all other productions of the earth. Betel, salt, and tobacco, were all farmed in the fame manner.

THERE were also some custom-houses, and some duties upon the public markets; but no poll-tax, or any tax upon industry. These arbitrary rulers had not thought of requiring any thing from men who had nothing left them. The weaver, fitting at his loom, worked without folicitude, and freely disposed of the fruit of his labour.

This liberty extended to every kind of moveables. They were truly the property of private persons, who were not accountable to any person for them. They could dispose of them in their life time; and, after their death, they devolved to their offspring. The houses of artificers, the townhouses with the little gardens belonging to them, were likewise accounted private property. They were hereditary, and might be fold.

'In the latter case, the buyer and seller appeared before the Cothoal. The conditions of the bargain were drawn up in writing; and the Cothoal affixed his feal to the deed, to make it valid.

. The same formality was observed with regard to the purchase of slaves; that is, of those unfortunate men, who, under the pressure of poverty, chose rather to be in bondage to one man who allowed them a subsistence, than to live under that general flavery in which they had no means of procuring the necessaries of life. They then fold themfelves for a fum of money; and this was transacted in presence of the Cothoal, that the master's property might not be contested.

THE Cothoal was a kind of notary public. There was one in every district of a certain fize. It was before him that the few deeds were transacted, which the nature of fuch a government would ad-'B O O K mit of., Another officer, called Jemidar, decided . IV. all differences that arose between man and man; and his decisions were almost always, definitive, unless the cause was a very important one, or unless the aggrieved party was rich enough to pay for having it reversed at the nabob's court. The lemidar was likewise intrusted with the police. He had a power of inflicting flight punishments; but all capital offences were referved for the judgment of the nabob, as he alone had a right to pronounce, fentence of death.

Such a government, which was no better than a despotism gradually descending from the throne down to the meanest officer, could have no other fpring than a coercive power constantly exerted. . Accordingly, as foon as the rainy feafon was over, the monarch quitted his capital, and refided in hiscamp. The nabobs, the rajas, and the principal officers, were furnmoned to attend him; and in this manner he proceeded through all the provinces fuccessively, in military, parade, which, however, did not preclude political artifice. One great man was often employed to oppress another. The most odious refinement of despotism is that of dividing it's flaves. These divisions were fomented by informers, publicly kept by the prince, who were continually spreading alarm and terror. These spies were always chosen among persons of the first rank. Corruption is at it's height, when power van ermoble what is mean.

EVERY year, the great Mogul fet out on his travels, more as a conqueror than as a fovereign, He went to administer justice in the provinces, as if he were going to plunder them; and maintained his authority by a parade of military force, which makes arbitrary government a continual frate of war, This manner of governing, though with

No. o K legal forms, is very dangerous for the monarch. So long as the people feel their wrongs merely through the channel of those who are invested with his authority, they only murmur, upon the supposition that the sovereign is ignorant of them, and would not suffer any injustice if he knew it: but when the sovereign gives it a fanction by his presence and by his own decisions, then all considence is at an end; the deception vanishes: he was a God; now he is an idiot, or a wicked man.

THE Mogul emperors, however, have long enjoyed the superstitious idea the nation had conceived of their facred character. That outward pomp which captivates the people more than justice, because men are more affected with what dazzles their eyes, than with what is beneficial to them; the richness and splendour of the prince's court; the grandeur that furrounded him in his travels; all this kept up in the minds of the people those prejudices of fervile ignorance, which trembles before the idol it has raised. The various accounts that have been transmitted to us of the luxury of the most brilliant courts in the world, are not to be compared to the oftentatious parade of the great Mogul when he appears in public. The elephants, formerly so dreadful in war, but which are become useless in an army fince the use of cannon; these immense animals that are unknown in our climates, give an Asiatic monarch an air of grandeur, of which we have no conception. The people fall prostrate before their majestic sovereign, who sits exalted upon a throne of gold, gluttering with precious stones, mounted on the haughty animal, who proceeds flowly, proud to present the master of a great empire to the respect of so many slaves. Thus, by dazzling the eyes of men, or inspiring them with terror, the Moguls preserved and even enlarged

enlarged their conquests. Aurengzebe completed B O O K them, by making himself master of the whole two peninsula. All Indostan, excepting a small portion of it along the coast of Malabar, submitted to that superstituous and barbarous tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, his

brothers, and his nephews. This infamous despot made the Mogul power an object of deteftation, but he 'supported it as long as he lived. At his death it was irrecoverably reduced. The uncertainty, as to the right of succession, was the first cause of the disturbances that arose after his demise, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one law was generally acknowledged; that which enacted, that the fceptre should never go out of the family of Tameriane; but every emperor was at liberty to chuse his successor, without being obliged to regard the degree of confanguinity. This indefinite right proved a fource of difcord. Young princes, whose birth intitled them to expect the crown, and who frequently were at the head of a province and an army, supported their claim sword-in-hand, and paid little regard to the will of a monarch who was no more. This happened at the death of Aurengzebe. His rich spoils were stained with blood. In these convulsions of the state, the springs that restrained an army of twelve hundred thousand men were relaxed. Every nabob aimed at being independent, increasing the contributions railed upon the people, and leffening the tributes fent into the emperor's treasury. No longer was any thing regulated by law, all was carried on by caprice, or thrown into confusion by violent mea-

The education of the young princes promifed no remedy for all these evils. Left to the care of women till the age of seven years, tutored

BOOK afterwards in forme' religious principles, they wasted in the soft indulgences of a seraglio those years of youth and activity which ought to be employed in forming the man, and instructing him in the knowledge of life. Care was taken to enerate them, that they might not become dangerous. Conspiracies of children against their fathers were frequent. A suspicious system of policy tended to weaken the character of these young men, in order that they should not be capable of committing a crime. Hence that shocking thought of an oriental poet, that satheris, while their sons are living, are fondest of their grandsons, because they love in them the enemies of their nemmes.

THE Moguls retained nothing of those hardy manners they had brought with them from their mountains. Those among them who were advanced to high offices, or had acquired large fortunes, changed their habitations according to the feasons. In these retirements, which were some of them more delightful than others, they lived in houses built only of clay or earth, but the inside of which presented every Asiatic luxury, together with all the pomp of the most corrupted courts. Wherever men cannot raise a lasting fortune, nor transmit it to their posterity, they are desirous of crowding all their enjoyments in the only moment they can call their own. Every pleasure, and even life itself, is exhausted in the midst of perfumes and women.

The Mogul empire was in this state of weakness when it was attacked, in 1738, by the samous Nadercha, better known among us by the name of Thamas Kouli-Kan. The innumerable armies of India were dispersed, without resistance, by a hundred thousand Persians; as those very Persians had formerly sted before thirty thousand Greeks trained trained by Alexander. Thamas entered victorious BOOK into Delhi, received the homage of Muhammet, IV. fuffered that weak monarch to live and to reign, united to Persia all the provinces that suited him, and returned loaded with an immense booty, the spoils of Indostan.

MUHAMMET, despited by his conqueror, was ftill more fo by his subjects. The great men would not serve under a vassal of the king of Persia. The nabobinips became independent, paying only a small tribute. In vain did the emperor declare. that the nabobs should still be removeable; each of them ftrove with all his power to make his dignity hereditary, and the fword decided every contest. The subjects were constantly at war with their mafter, and were not confidered as rebels. Whoever could afford to pay a body of troops, pre-tended to a fovereignty. The only formality observed, was to counterfeit the emperor's fign manual in a firman, or warrant of investiture. It was brought to the usurper, who received it on his knees. This farce was necessary to impose upon the people, who had ftill respect enough remaining for the family of Tamerlane, to choose that all authority should, at least, appear to proceed from that fource.

Trus did difcord, ambition, and anarchy oppress this beautiful region of Indostan. Crimes could the more easily, be concealed, as it was the custom of the great never to write but in ambiguous terms, and to employ none but obscure agents, whom they disowned when they found it necessary. Assume and positioning became common crimes, which were buried in the dark recesses of those impenetrable palaces, full of attendants, ever ready to perpetrate the blackest acts on the least signal from their master.

THE

BOOK THE foreign troops that were called in by the contending parties, completed the miseries of this unhappy country They carried off all the riches of the land, or obliged the owners to bury them under ground, and thus it was that the treasures amassed for so many ages gradually disappeared. A general dejection enfued The grounds lay fallow, and the manufactures stood still people would no longer work for foreign plunderers, or domestic oppressors Want and famine were foon felt These calamities, which for ten years had infelted the provinces of the empire, began to visit the coast of Coromandel The wife Nizam-el Muluck, fubah of the Decan, was now no more His prudence and talents had kept that part of India which he commanded in a flourishing state The European merchants were apprehensive that their trade might fail when it had lost that support They saw no resource against that danger, but to have a territor, of their own, large enough to contain a number of manufacturers fufficient to make up their lading

Means employed by the French to acquire large pof fell ons in

Inta

DUPLEIX was the first who considered this 154 practicable scheme The war had brought many troops to Pondicherry, with which he hoped, by rapid conquests, to procure greater advantages than the rival nations had obtained by a fleady conduct

and mature deliberation

He had long studied the character of the Moguls, their intrigues, and their political interests. He had acquired such knowledge of these matters, as might have been furprifing even in a man brought up at the court of Delhi This knowledge, deeply combined, had convinced him that it would be in his power to attain a principal influence in the offurs of Indostan, possibly, to manage them at his pleasure His spirit, which prompted him. to attempt more than he was able to perform, gave additional

additional strength to his reflections Nothing BOOK terrified him in the great part he proposed to act at the diffrance of hx thousand leagues from his native country In vain did his friends represent to him the dangers attending fuch an undertaking, he confidered nothing but the glorious advantage of fecuring to France a new dominion in the heart of Asia, of enabling her, by the revenues annexed to it, to defray the charges of trade and the expences of fovereignty, and even of freeing her from the tribute which our luxury pays to the induftry of the Indians, by procuring rich and numerous cargoes, which should not be bought with any exports of money, but with the overflowings of the new revenues Full of this great project, Dupleix eagerly feized the first opportunity that offered to put it in execution, and foon took upon him to dispose of the subahship of the Decan, and the nabobship of the Carnitic, in favo ir of two men who were ready to give up any thing he should require

The fibalifup of the Decan is a viceroyalty, made up of feveral provinces which were formermade up of feveral provinces which were formerty fo many independent flates. It extends from
Cape Comorn to the Ganges. The fubah has
the fuperintendence of all the Indian princes, and
all the Mogul governors vithin his jurifidition;
and in his hands are depofited the contributions
that are deffined to fill the public treasure. He
can compel his inferior officers to attend him
in all military expeditions he may think proper
to make into the countries under his dominion,
but he is not allowed to march them into a foreign territory, without an express order from the
emperor

The highlishing of the Decan becoming vecant in 1748, Dupletx, after a series of events and revolutions, in which the corruption of the Moguls, Vol. II K

NOOR the weakness of the Indians, and the boldness of the French, were equally confpicuous, difposed of it, towards the beginning of the year 1751, in favour of Salabat-jing, a fon of the late vice-

This fucces fecured great advantages to the French settlements along the coast of Coromandel; but Pondicherry was a place of such importance, that it was thought to deserve a particular attention. This town, which is fituated in the Carnatic, has such constant and immediate connections with the nabob of that rich district, that it was thought adviscable to procure the government of the manufacture of the contract of the contra

it was thought advisable to procure the government of the province for a man whose affection and submission might be depended upon. The choice fell upon Chunda-saeb, a relation of the late nabob, well known for his intrigues, his miffortunes, his warlike exploits, and his steadines

of temper.

In return for their fervices, the French made him give up an immente territory. The principal of their acquifitions was the illand of Seringham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile illand derives it's name and

ham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile island derives it's name and it's consequence from a Pagoda, which is fortified, as most great buildings that are devoted to public worship. The temple is surrounded with seven square inclosures, at the distance of three hundred and fifty feet from each other, and formed by walls of a moderate height, which are proportionably thick. The altar stands in the center. A single monument of this kind, with it's fortifications, and the mysteries and riches it contains, is more likely to enforce and perpetuate a religion, than a multiplicity of temples and priefts dispersed in different towns, with their facrifices, ceremonies, prayers, and discourses, which, by their number, their frequent repetition, and their being performed

formed in public, are apt to tire the people: these BOOK are also exposed to the contempt of enlightened reason, to dangerous profanations, or to the slight and neglect of the people; a circumstance which the priests dread more than sacrilege itself. The priefts of India, as wife as those of Egypt, suffer no stranger to penetrate into the Pagoda of Seringham. Amidst the fables in which the history of this temple is involved, probably fome acute philosopher might, if he were admitted into it, trace from the emblems, the form and construction of the edifice, and the superstitious practices and traditions peculiar to that facred inclofure, many fources of instruction, and acquire an inlight into the history of the most remote ages. Pilgrims refort thither from all parts of Indoftan, to obtain absolution of their fins, and always bring an offering proportionable to their circumstances. These gifts were still so considerable at the beginning of the prefent century, as to maintain forty thonsand men in a life of floth and idleness. The Bramins of this temple, though under the restraints of subordination, were seldom known to quit their retirement for the more bufy scenes of intrigue and politics.

INDEPENDENT of other advantages which the French enjoyed by the acquilition of Seringham, the fituation gave them great influence over the neighbouring countries, and an abfolute command over the kingdom of Tanjour, as they could at any time ftop, the waters that were wanted for the culture of the rice.

The territories of Karical and Pondicherry obtained an accelling of ten leagues each, with four-foore villages. If their acquaitions were not fo confiderable as that of Seringham in point of political influence, they were much more fo with regard to trade.

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112 Bur this was a trifling acquifition compared to воок the territory that was gained to the North, which iv. comprehended the Condavir, Masulipatnam, the island of Divi, and the four provinces of Mustafanagur, Elur, Rajamandry, and Chicakol. Such important concessions made the French masters of the coast for the space of fix hundred miles, and procured them the best linen in Indostan. It is true they were to enjoy the four provinces no longer than they should furnish the subah with a

> was only binding to their honesty, gave them little concern. Their ambition made them already think themselves in possession of the treasures that had been heaped up in those vast regions for so

> stipulated number of troops, and maintain them at their own expence; but this agreement, which

many ages. THE ambitious views of the French, and their projects of conquest, were carried much beyond this. They proposed to obtain a cession of the capital of the Portuguefe colonies, and to feize upon the district of a triangular form, which lies between Masulipatnam, Goa, and Cape Comorin. In the mean time, till they could realize these brilliant chimeras, they confidered the personal

honours that were lavished upon Dupleix as a presage of the greatest prosperity. It is well known, that every foreign colony is in some degree odious to the natives; it is therefore good policy to endeavour to leffen this aversion, and the furest way to attain that end, is, to conform as much as possible to the customs and manners of the country. This maxim, which is in general true, is more particularly so in countries where the people reflect but little; and is consequently so in India. THE inclination which the French commander

had for Asiatic pomp, was still a further inducement

ment with him to conform to the customs of the BOOK country. Accordingly, he was exceedingly re-, joiced when he law himfelf invested with the dignity of a nabob. That title put him upon a level with those whose protection he solicited before, and afforded him confiderable opportunities to pave the way for those great revolutions he meditated, in order to promote the important interests he was intrusted with. He entertained still greater hopes on being appointed governor of all the Mogul possessions, throughout an extent little inferior to the whole kingdom of France. All the revenues of those rich provinces were to be deposited in his hands, and he was accountable to none but the fubah himfelf.

THOUGH these agreements entered into by merchants could not be very pleasing to the court of Delhi, they were not much afraid of it's refentment. The emperor, being in want of men and money, which the fubalis, the nabobs, the rajas, his meanest delegates, took upon themselves to refuse him, found himself attacked on all fides.

THE Rajaputes, descended from those Indians with whom Alexander had been engaged in battle, being driven out of their lands by the Moguls. took shelter in some mountains that are almost inaccessible. Continual disturbances put it out of their power to think of conquelts; but in the intervals of their diffentions, they make inroads that cannot fail of harafling an empire already exhauffed.

THE Patans are still more formidable enemies. Driven by the Moguls from most of the thrones of Indostan, they have taken refuge at the foot of Mount Imaus, which is a continuation of the Caucafus. That fituation has strangely altered their manners, and given, them a fierceness of temper BOOK which they had not in a milder climate War is their chief employment. They ferve alike under the banners of Indian or Mohammedan princes, but their obedience is not equal to their valour. Whatever crime they may have been guilty of, it is dangerous to punish them, for they are to vindictive, that they will murder when they are weak, and revolt when they are strong enough to artempt any bold enterprise. Since the reigning power has lost it's strength, the nation has shaken off the yoke. Not many years ago, their generals carried on their ravages as far as Delhi, and did not quit that capital till they had plundered it.

To the north of Indostan is a nation, which, though Jately known, is the more formidable for being a new enemy This people, diftinguished by the name of Scheiks, have found means to free themselves from the chains of despotism and superflition, though furrounded by nations of flaves They are faid to be followers of a philosopher of Thibet, who inspired them with some notions of liberty, and taught them Theism without any mixture of superstition. They first appeared in the beginning of the present century, but were then considered rather as a fect than as a nation During the calamities of the Mogul empire, their number increased considerably by apostates of all religions, who joined with them, and fought shelter among them from the oppressions and fury of their tyrants. To be admitted of that fociety, nothing more is required than to swear implacable hatred against monarchy It is afferted, that they have a temple with an altar, on which stands their code of laws, and next to it a sceptre and 1 dagger Four old men are elected, who oc-cationally confult the law, which is the only fupreme power this republic obeys The Scheiks actually

actually possess the whole province of Punjal, the BOOK greatest part of the Moultan and the Sinds, both banks of the Indus, from Cassimere to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahor to Serhend: they can raise an army of fixty thousand good cavalry.

Bur of all the enemies of the Moguls, 'none are, perhaps, fo dangerous as the Marattas. This nation, of late fo famous, as far as the obscurity of their origin and hiftory will allow us to conjecture, poffeffed feveral provinces of Indoltan, from whence they were driven by the fear or the arms. of the Moguls. They fled into the mountains which extend from Surat to Goa, and there formed several tribes, which in process of time united into one state, of which Satarah was for a long

time, and Ponah now is, the capital.

Most of them carried vice and licentiousness to all the excesses which might be expected from an ignorant people, who have cast off the yoke of prejudices, without substituting wholesome laws and knowledge in their stead. Tired of laudable and peaceful labours, they thought of nothing but rapine. Yet this was confined to the plundering of a few villages, and the robbing of some caravans: till the coast of Coromandel, being threatened by Aurengzebe, made them fensible of their ftrength, by imploring their afliftance.

'Ar this period, they were feen coming out of their rocks, mounted on fmall and ill-shaped horses, but stout, and accustomed to indifferent feeding, to difficult roads, and to excessive fatigue. The whole accourtement of a Maratta horseman confisted of a turban, a girdle, and a cloak. His provisions were a little bag of rice, and a leather bottle full of water. His only weapon was an ex-

cellent sabre.

BOOK NOTWITHSTANDING the affidance of these barbarrans, the Indian princes were forced to bend
to the yoke of Aurengzebe, but the conqueror,
werry of contending with irregular troops, which
were continually raviging the newly-reduced provinces, determined to conclude a treaty that
would have been distinourable, hid it not been
dictated by necessity, which is stronger than prejudices, oaths, and laws. He ceded for ever to
the Marattas the fourth part of the revenues of
the Decan, a subthfulp formed out of all his usurp-

ations in the peninfula

Taris kind of ribute was regularly paid as for as Aurengzebe lived. After his death, it was granted or refused according to circumstances. The levying of it brought the Maratias in arms to the remotest parts of their mountains. Their boldness increased during the anarchy of Indostan. They have made the empire tremble, they have deposed monarches, they have extended their frontiers, they have granted their protection to rajas and nabobs who strove to be independent, and their influence has been unbounded.

WHILL the court of Delhi was with difficulty contending with to many enemies, all confipring to effect it's ruin, M de Buffy, who with a finall corps of French troops, and an army of Indians, had conducted Sal bat jung to Aurengabad his capital, endeav oured to effablish him on the throne where he had placed him. The weakness of the prince, the confipriaces which it occasioned, the firmans or privileges which had been granted to rivals, and other impediments, obstructed, but could not subsert his projects. By his means the prince reigned more peaceably under the protection of the French than could have been expected, considering the circumstances of his situation.

and he preferved him absolutely independent of BOOK the head of the empire

CHUNDA SAEE, appointed habob of the Carnatic, was not in so happy a situation. The English, ever in opposition to the French, had stirred up a rival against him, named Mohammed-Ali-Khan. The names of those two princes served as a pretence for carrying on a vigorous war between the two nations: they fought for glory, for wealth, and to serve the passions of their respective commanders, Dupleix and Saunders, Victory declared alternately for each army. Success would not have been so fluctuating, had the governor of Madrass had more troops, or the governor of Pondicherry better officers. It was difficult to conjecture which of those two men, who were both of the fame inflexible temper, would in the end obtain the superiority; but it was very certain that neither would fubmit, while he had either troops or money left. Nor was it likely that either of them would foon be reduced to this extremity, notwithstanding their amazing efforts, because they both found such resources in their hatred and their genius, as even the most able men could not have any conception of. It was evident that the diffurbances in the Carnatic would not be at an end, unless the peace was first fettled in Europe; and it was to be feared that the flame which had been confined to India for fix years might fpread further. The ministers of France and England obvioused this danger, by enjoining the two Companies to fix certain terms of agreement. They made a conditional treaty, which began by suspending all hostilities at the commencement of the year 1755; and was to end by establishing between them a perfect equality of territory, of firength, and of trade, on the coaffa of Coromandel and Orixa. This flipulation lind BOOK not yet received the fanction of the courts of IV London and Verfulles, when greater interests kindled a fresh war between the two nations

War between the English and French The French Iose all their set-

tlements

THE report of this great contest, which began in North America, and spread itself throughout the universe, reached the East Indies at a time when the English were engaged in a very intricate war with the fubah of Bengal Had the French been then in the same state they were some years before, they would have joined with the natives From narrow views and ill judged interefts, they were defirous of entering into a formal convention, to fecure the neutrality which had subsisted on the banks of the Ganges during the last disturbances Their rivals amused them with the hopes of fettling this convention, fo long as they wanted to keep them in a state of inaction But as foon as their fuccesses had enabled them to make their own terms, they attacked Chandemagore The reduction of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent upon it, and put the English in a condition to send men, money, provisions, and thips, to the coast of Coromandel, where the French were just arrived with confiderable land and fea forces

THESE forces, defined to protect the fettlements of their own nation, and defroy those of the enemy, were more than sufficient to answer both those purposes. The only point was to make a proper use of them, but there was a mistake in this from the beginning, as will plainly appear

from the following observations

BEFORE the commencement of the war, the Company possessed on the coasts of Coromandel and Orixa, Masuhipatnam, with five provinces, a large circuit of land about Pondicherry, which for a long time before had been nothing but a fandbank, and an extent nearly of the same size in

the neighbourhood of Karical; and, laftly, the BOOK ifland of Seringham. These possessions made four tracts of country, too far distant to support each other. They bore the marks of the wild fancy and extravagant imagination of Dupleix, who had made these acquisitions.

THESE political errors might have been amended. Dupleix, who compenfated for his defects by his great qualities, had acquired fo great an influence, that he was offered the perpetual government of the Carnatic. It was the most flourishing province in all the Mogul empire. By fingular and fortunate circumstances, it had been governed succeffively by three nabobs of the same samily, who had been equally attentive to agriculture and industry. General felicity had been the reful to this mild government and public-fpirited conduct, and the public revenues had increased to twele millions. A fixth part of this sum would have been given to Salabat-jing, and the rest would have been for the Company.

Is the ministry and the direction, who alternately supported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and settled resolution, they might have sent orders to their agent to give up all the remote conquests, and to be content with that important settlement. It was alone sufficient to give the French a firm establishment, a compact territory in which the settlements would be contiguous, a very large quantity of merchandise, provisions for their fortissed towns, and revenues sufficient to maintain a body of troops, which would have enabled them to set the jealousy of their neighbours, and the batted of their enemies at defiance. Unfortunately for them, the court of Versailles ordered that Dupletx should

BOOK not accept of the Carnatic, and affairs remained

It as they were before that propofal

The fituation was critical Dupleix was, per haps, the only finan who could support limited in to, or in his flead the celebrated officer who had hid the greatest share in his confidence, and was best acquainted with his schemes. The contrary opinion prevailed Dupleix had been recalled The general, who was appointed to conduct the Indian war, imagined he must demolish a structure which ought only to have been supported in those troublesome times, and discovered his designs in so public a manner, as contributed greatly to heighten the imprudence of his resolutions.

This man, whose ungovernable temper could never adapt tield to circumstances, had received from nature none of those qualities that render a man fit for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous, and irregular imagination; so that there was a perpetual contrast between his conversation and his projects, and between his projects and his actions. Passonate, supporting the projects and his actions. Passonate, supporting the created an universal diffidence and dejection, and excited an universal diffidence and dejection and excited an universal diffidence and dejection and described and defendence and defe

The evacuation of the island of Seringham was the principal cause of the diasters that attended the var with Tanjour Massisportiam, and the northern provinces were lost, from having given up the silicance of Salahat was. The wicerar powers of the Carnituc, who no longer respected the French for the side of their old friend the silicance of the Carnituc, who no longer respected the French for the side of their old friend the silicance of the probability of the Decan, completed the general rum by espouling other interests.

.. On the other hand, the French squadron, though Bio O K fuperior to the English, with which, it had engaged three feveral times without gaining any advantage over it, was at last obliged to leave it master of the seas, by which the sate of India was decided. Pondicherry, after struggling with all the horrors of famine, was forced to furrender on the 15th of January 1761. Lally had, the day before, corrected a plan of capitulation drawn -up by the council; he had named deputies to carry it to the enemy's camp; and, by a contradiction that was characteristic of the man, he gave the deputies a letter for the English general, in which he told him, be would bave no capitulation, because the English were such people that they would not adbere to it.

In taking possession of the place, the conqueror caused not only the troops that had defended it, but all the French in the Company's fervice, to be shipped off for Europe; and, not satisfied even with that revenge, they destroyed Pondicherry, and made that noble city a heap of ruins.

Those of the inhabitants who were fent over to France, arrived in despair, at having lost their fortunes, and feen their houses demolished as they quitted the shore. They filled Paris with their clamours; they excited the indignation of the public against their governor; they impeached him as the author, of all their miferies, and the fole cause of the loss of a flourishing colony. Lally was taken up, and tried by the parliament. He had been accused of high treason and extortion; of the first he was acquitted, and of the second no proof could be brought, yet Lally was condemned to lofe his head

LET us alk, in the name of humanity, what his crime was, that it should be punishable by law? The awful fword, of justice was not put into the hands BOOK hands of the magilitrate to gratify private refentive ment, or even to follow the emotions of public indignation. The law alone must point out it's own victims; and, if the clamours of a blind and incensed multitude could sway with the judges to pronounce a capital fentence, the innocent might suffer for the guilty, and there would be no fasety for the citizen. In this point of view let us examine the sentence.

It declares, that Lally stands convicted of baving betrayed the interest of the king, of the state, and
of the India Company. What is meant by betraying of interests? What law is there that makes it
death to be guilty of this vague and indefinite
crime? No such law either does or can exist.
Disgrace from the prince, contempt from the
nation, and public infamy; these are the proper
punishments for the man, who, from incapacity
or folly, has not served his country as he ought:
but death, and that too upon a scassol, is destined for crimes of a different nature.

The fentence further declares, that Lally flands convicted of vexations, exations, and abuse of authority. No doubt he was guilty of these in numberless instances. He made use of violent means to procure pecuniary aids; but this money was put into the public treasure. 'He injured and oppressed the citizens; but he never attempted any thing against their lives, or against their honour. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but caused no one to be executed upon them.

In fact, he was a madman of a dark and dangerous caft, an odious and despicable man; a man totally incapable of command. But he was neither guilty of public extortions nor treason; and, to use the expression of a philosopher whose virtues do honour to humanity, every one bad a right to kill Lally, except the executioner.

THE misfortunes that befel the French in Alia BOOK had been foreseen by all considerate men, who reflected on the corruption of the nation. Their Caufes of morals especially had degenerated in the volup-the miftuous climate of India. The wars which Dupleix fortunes of the had carried on in the inland parts had laid the French. creased and multiplied by the gifts which Salabatjing lavished on those who conducted him in triumph to his capital, and fixed him on the throne. The officers who had not shared the dangers, the glory, and the benefits of those brilliant expeditions, found out an expedient to comfort themselves under their misfortune; which was, to reduce the fipahis to half the number they were ordered to maintain, and to apply their pay to their own benefit; which they could eafily do, as the money passed through their hands. The agents for trade, who had not these resources, accounted to the Company but for a very small part of the profits made upon the European goods they fold, though they ought to have been all their own; and fold them those in India at a very high price, which they ought to have had at prime cost. Those who were intrusted with collecting the revenue of any particular (pot, farmed it themselves under Indian names, or let it for a trifle, upon receiving a handfome gratuity; they even frequently kept back the whole income of such estates, under pretence of fome imaginary robbery or devastation, which had made it impossible to collect it. All undertakings, of what nature foever, were clandestinely agreed upon; and became the prey of the persons employed in them, who had found means to make themselves formidable, or of such as were most in favour, or richest. The authorized abuse that prevails in India, of giving and receiving presents on the conclusion of every treaty, had multiplied these transactions

BOOK transactions without necessity. The navigators who landed in those parts, dazzled with the fortunes which they faw increased fourfold from one voyage to another, no longer regarded their ships, but as the means of carrying on trade and acquiring wealth. Corruption was brought to it's greatest height by people of rank, who had been difgraced and ruined at home; but who, being encouraged by what they faw, and impelled by the reports that were brought to them, resolved to go, themselves into Asia, in hopes of retrieving their shattered fortunes, or of being able to continue their irregularities with impunity. The personal conduct of the directors made it necessary for them to connive at all these disorders. They were reproached with attending to nothing in their office but the credit, the money, and the power it gave them; with giving the most important posts to their own relations, men of no morals, application, or capacity; with multiplying the number of factors without necessity and without bounds, to secure friends in the city and at court; and, lastly, they were accused of obtruding upon the public commodities which might have been bought cheaper and better in other places Whether the government did not know of these excesses, or had not resolution enough to put, a ftop to them, it was, by it's blindness or it's weakness, in some measure accessary to the ruin of the affairs of the nation in India. It might even without injustice be child ed with being the principal cause of them, by fending such improper persons to manage and defend an important fettlement, which had no less to fear from it's own corruption, than from the English steets and armies,

' THE difasters of the Company abroad were ag BOOK gravated by their fituation equally diftressful at 11 It was necessary to represent these twofold Measures misfortunes to the proprietors 'This discovery oc-taken by calioned a general despondency, which gave rise the French to a variety of different ichemes, all equally ab-bim affurd Thefe feveral schemes were haltily discuss-fairs in ed, nor was it possible that any of them could be India fixed upon by men in such a state of uncertainty The deliberations were carried on and diffidence with too much afperity; and time, which was of To much confequence, was loft in upbraidings and invectives No one could foresee where these commotions would end The ftorm at length fublided, and fresh hopes began to dawn Company, which the enemies to all exclusive privileges wished to see abolished, and which so many private interests had conspired to destroy, still maintained it's ground 'but' it was put upon a better footing, a circumstance which was absolutely necessary

Among the causes that had occasioned the diftresses of the Company, there was one which had long been looked upon as the source of all the rest, this was the dependence or rather the slavery, in which the government had kept that great body

for near half a century

Ever fince the year 1723, the directors had been cholen by the court. In 1730, a commillary appointed by the king was introduced into the administration of the Company From this period there was an end to all freedom of debate, there was no longer any connection between those who had the management of affairs, and the proprietors, no immediate intercolific between the managers and the government. All was directed by the influence, and according to the views of the court. Mystery, that dangerous veil of arbitrary. Vol. II

B 0 0 K administration, concealed all the operations; and it was not till 1744, that the proprietors were called together. They were impowered to name fyndies, and to call a general meeting once a year; but they were not better informed of the state of their affairs, nor more at liberty to direct them. The power of chusing the directors was still vested in

the crown, and instead of one commissary, the king chose to have two. From this time two parties were formed. Each commissary had his own scheme, his own favourites, and endeavoured to get his own projects adopted. Hence arose divisions, intigues, informations, and animossities, which, though they originated in Paris, extended as sar as Indaa, and there broke out in a manner so said to the

The ministry, shocked at such a number of abuses, and weary of those endless contests, at tempted to remedy them. It was imagined he had succeeded, by appointing a third commission. This expedient, however, served only to increase the evil Desposision had prevailed while there was but one; division ensued on the nomination of two, and from the moment three were appointed, all was anarchy and confusion. They were reduced to two, and pains were taken to preserve harmony as much as possible between them, and in 1764, there was but one, when the proprietors defired that the Company might be brought back to it's original form by restoring it's freedom.

They ventured to represent to the government, that they might impute the disafters and errors of the 'Company to themselves, as the proprietors had not been concerned in the management of their affairs; that they could never be carried on most advantageously both for them and for the

flate, till this could be idone with freedom, and BOOK: till an immediate intercourse was established be- IV tween the proprietors and the directors, and between the directors and the ministry; that whenever there was an intermediate person, the orders given on one part, and the reports made on the other, would necessarily, in passing through his hands, take a tincture of his own private views and inclinations, fo that he would always be, in fact, the real and fole director of the Company. that such a director, not being himself personally concerned in the affairs of the Company, or not being a comp-tent judge of them, would always facrifice the welfare and true interest of trade, to add to the transient pomp of his appointment, and to fecure the favour of placemen, that, on the contrary, every thing might be expected from a free direction, chosen by the proprietors, acting under their inspection, and in concert with them, and subject to no kind of restraint

THE government was sensible of the truth of, these reasons. It secured the freedom of the Company by a folemn tedich, and fome regulations were made, to put the direction of it under a new

form THE intention of these statutes was, that the Company might no longer be ruled by men, who often were not worthy to be it's factors, that the government might no further interfere than to protect it, that it might be alike preserved from that flavery under which it had fo long been oppressed, and from that spirit of mystery, which had perpetuated it's corruption, that there should be a constant intercourse between the directors and the proprietors, that Paris, deprived of the advantage enjoyed by the capitals of other commercial nations, of being a fea port, might acquire a knowledge of trade in free and perceable  $L_2$ 

BOOK affemblies; that the citizen might form just notions of that powerful tie that connects all nations together, and, by informing himfelf of the fources of public prosperity, learn to refoed the merchant whose operations contribute to it, and to despile the professions that are de-Ariddice of it

. THESE wife regulations were attended with happier consequences than could possibly be expected. A great activity was observed on all fides. During the five years that the new direction lafted, the fales produced annually 18,000,000 livres. They had not been fo confiderable, even in those times which had been looked upon as the most prosperous; for, from 1726, to 1736 inclusively, they had amounted to no more than 437,376,284 livres +, which makes upon an average, in peace and war, 14,108,012 \$ livres a year.

IMMINENT diffress was, however, concealed under this appearance of prosperity. When this was suspected, and endeavours were made to ascertain the matter, it was found that the Company, on renewing it's trade, was more indebted than it had been supposed. This is a circumstance common to all mercantile hodies, whose transactions are complicated, extensive, and carried on in diftant countries. They have scarce ever a just idea of their situation. Whether this mistake be to be attributed to the fraud, neglect, or incapacity of their agents, certain it is, that it takes place almost universally. The confusion is still increased by the calamity of war. That which the French had been fultaining in India, had been tedious and unfuccessful. The ex-

<sup>\* 750,000</sup>l. 1 18,224,0111, 16s. 8d. I 587,8711. 6s. 8d. ,

pences and depredations of it were but imperfect- BOOK ly known, and the Company began their opera-tions, reckoning upon a larger capital than they possessed.

This mistake, ruinous in itself, was followed by other fatal errors, which arofe, perhaps, from not having sufficiently reflected on the revolutions that had happened recently in India. "The Company flattered themselves that their sales would amount to twenty-five millions of livres\*, and they were below eighteen millions+. They flattered themselves, that the European commodities would be fold for fifty per cent. more than they had cost, while they scarce fetched their original price. They flattered themselves with a profit of cent, per cent, upon the productions that should be brought into our climates, and it amounted to

no more than feventy-two per cent.

ALL these muscalculations arose from the ruin of the French credit in India, and from the exorbitant power of the victorious nation that had lately subdued those distant regions: : from the necessity there frequently was of taking uipon credit bad merchandize from the English merchante, who were endeavouring to convey to Europe the immense fortunes they had amassed in Alia: from the impollibility of procuring funds necessary for carrying on the trade without giving an exorbitant interest: from the obligation the Company were under of supplying provisions for the ifles of France and Bourbon, which advances were flowly and ill paid by the government, as well as the gratifications granted to them for their exports and imports

LASTLY, according to the plan of the directors, the expences necessary for the carrying on of BOOK trade, and for the maintaining of fovereignty, were not to exceed four millions of livres. whereas they amounted to more than twice that fum. The expences for maintaining the right of fovereignty might even be carried much beyond this in future, fince in their nature they were capable of being extended and increased in conformity with the political views of the monarch, the fole judge of their importance and neceffity.

In fuch a fituation, it was impossible that the diforderly flate of the affairs of the Company should not be more and more increased. Their ruin, as well as that of their creditors, was upon the point of being completed, when government, warned by the repeated loans they were continually renewing, determined to inquire into the state of their finances. As foon as it became acquainted with them, it was thought proper to suspend their exclusive privilege of trade with India. Let us now examine what was the condition of the Company at that period.

The charter of the Feriod.

BEFORE 1746, the number of shares amounted ter of the company to 50,268. At that period the ministry, who, in issuspend 1746, 1747, and 1748, had given up to the proed. Their prietors the produce of the shares and bonds which were their property, relinquished in their favour the shares and bonds themselves, to the number of 11,835 together, to indemnify them for the expences they had incurred during the last war. These shaving been cancelled, there remained but 38,432.

THE wants of the Company obliged them to make a call of 400 livres | per share. Upwards of 34,000 shares answered the call. The 4000 that did not were reduced, by the terms of the edict which impowered the Company to make the call, B O O K to five-eighths of the value of those which had paid, iv fo that by this operation the number was reduced

to 36,920 whole shares and six eighths.

THE dividends on the shares of the French company, as of all other companies, have varied according to circumflances In 1722 it was 100 livres (a) From 1723 to 1745 it was 150 (b) From 1746 to 1749 it was 70 (c) From 1750 to 1758 it was 80 (d) From 1759 to 1763 it wis 40 (e), and in 1764, it was but 20 livres (f) This account. thews that the dividend, and the value of the flock, which always kept pace with it, was neceffarily affected by the hazards of trade, and the fluctuation of popular opinion Hence that prodigious rife and fall in the price of the shares, which fell in one year from two hundred (g) to one hundred pistoles (b), then rose to 1800 livres (1), and foon after fell to 700 (k) Yet, in the midft of these revolutions, the stock of the company was much the fame But this is a calculation which the public never makes. , It is determined by the circumstance of the present moment, and it's confidence, as well as it's fears, are always exaggerated.

The proprietors, who were under apprehenfions of having their fortunes reduced to half in one day, would no longer run the rifques of fuch a fituation. In laying in a fresh stock to trade with, they defired to secure the remainder of their fortune in such a manner, as that the shares should at all times bear a settled price, and an interest that could be depended upon. The government settled

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(a) 41 32 44 (b) 61 58

(c) 21 188 44 (d) 31 65 84

(d) 11 38 44 (f) 168 (f) 168 (g) 1
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BOOK this matter by an edict issued out in August 1764.

The XIIIth article expressly says. That, to secure to the proprietors a settled income independent of all future events of trade, a sufficient sund should be detached from that portion of the contract which was then free, to secure to every share a capital of 1600 lives (a), and an interest of 80 livres (b), and that neuther that interest, 1 or that capital, should, in any case, or for any cause whatsever, be answere the state of the date of the edic.

The company, therefore, owed for 36,920 fhares and fix eightles, at the rate of 80 livres (c) per share, an interest amounting to 2,952,660 livres (d). They paid for their several contracts 2,727,506 livres (d), which made in all 5,681,166 livres (f) of perpetual annuities. The life annuities amounted to 3,074,899 livres (e). The sum total of all these life annuities and annual psymenis was then 8,756,065 livres (b). In what manner the company raised money to answer their several demands, shall be the subject of our next inquiry.

That, great body, which had been much too deeply concerned in Law's februne, had advanced him 90,000,000 of livres (?) When that fiftem failed, the government made over to them in payment the exclusive fale of tobacco, which then brought in three millions (k) a year, but they were left without a capital to trade with This kept them in a flate of inaction till 1726, when the government lent them it's alfiftance The rapid progress they made afformitted all nations, and feemed to promife them a superiority over the most flour

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(a) 661 135, 4d

(c) 31 65 8d

(e) 113 6461 15 8d

(g) 128 1201 155 10d,

(e) 3,750,000l,
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(b) 31 6s 8d (d) 12, c691 3s 4d (f) 2,67151 5s (h) 364 8361 10d (h) 125,0001 rishing companies. This opinion, which was the BOOK general one, emboldened the proprietors to continuous plain that their dividends were not doubled and trebled. They thought, as well as the public, that the king's treasury was enriched with their spoils. The profound secrecy with which every thing was carried on, greatly strengthened these furnises.

The breaking-out of the war between France and England, in 1744, dissolved the charm. . The ministry, too much embarrassed in their own affairs to think of doing any thing for the Company; left it to extricate itself. Then, indeed, every one was surprised to see that Colossus ready to fall, which had never yet met with any shock, and whose greatest misfortune had been the loss of two thips of a moderate value. The company would have been ruined, had not the government, in 1747, declared itself their debtor in the sum of r 80,000,000 of livres (a), and engaged to pay them the interest of that sum for ever at five per cent. This engagement, which was in lieu of the exclufive fale of tobacco, is so important a point in the history of the company, that it would not be fufficiently illustrated, if we did not trace the matter further back.

The use of tobacco, which was introduced into Europe after the discovery of America, made no very rapid progress in France. The consumption was to small, that the first contract, which began the first of December 1674, and ended the first of October 1680, brought in but 50,000 livres (b) to the government the two first years, and 600,000 (c) the four last; though the right of stamping pewter had been joined to this privilege. This farm of the revenue was consounded with the general

<sup>(</sup>c) 25,000l.

BOOK farms till 1691, when it still remained united to them, and was rated at 1,500,000 livres (a) a year. In 1697, it became once more a separate farm on the same terms, till 1709, when it was increased to 100,000 livres (b) more, till 1715. It was then renewed for three years only. The two first years ought to have produced 2,000,000 of livres (c), and the last 200,000 (d) more. At that period' it was increased to 4,020,000 livres (e) a year; but this lafted only from the first of October 1718 to the first of June 1720. Tobacco then became a mercantile commodity all over the kingdom, and continued fo till the first of September 1721. During this short interval, private persons laid in fuch a flock, that, when it came to be farmed out again, it could be done but at a moderate price. This contract, which was the eleventh, was for nine years, to commence on the first of September 1721, and convinue to the first of October 1720 'The farmers were to give 1,300,000 livres (f) for the first thirteen months; 1,800,000 (g) for the fecond year, 2,560,000 (b) for the third; and 3,000,000 (i) for each of the last fix years. This agreement did not take place, because the India company, to whom the government owed 90,000,000 livres (k), which had been deposited in the royal treasury in 1717, demanded the farm of tobacco, which had then been made over to them for ever, and which, from particular events, they had never yet enjoyed. Their petition was found to be just, and

they obtained what they so warmly solicited.

THEY managed this farm themselves, from the first of October 1723, to the last day of Septem-

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(a) 62,5001,

(c) 83,3331, 63, 84,

(e) 167,5001,

(f) 75,0001,

(f) 125,0001,
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<sup>(</sup>b) 4,165l, 135, 4d, (d) 8,333l, 6s 8d (f) 154,166l, 135, 4d, (h) 106,666l 135, 4d, (k) 3,750,000l

ber 1730. The produce during that space was BOOK 50,085,967 livres 11 sous 9 deniers (a); which made 7,154,852 livres 10 sols '3 den. (b) a year; out of this must be deducted yearly 3;042,9631.
198. 6d. (c) for the charges of preparing the land.

These charges were so enormous, that it was thought the business, which grew every day more considerable, would be better in the hands of the farmers-general, who would manage it at less expence by means of the clerks they employed for other purposes. The company accordingly sarmed it for eight years, at the rate of 7,500,000 livres (d) for each of the first source, and 8,000,000 (e) for each of the four last. This contract was continued upon the same terms till the month of June 1747; and the king promised to account with the company for the increase of the produce, as soon as it should be known and ascertained.

Ar this period, the king united the tobacco farm to his other duties, creating and alienating, for the use of the company, an annuity of nine millions (f) for ever; upon a capital of an hundred and eighty millions (g). This large compensation was thought to be due to them for the old debt of ninety millions (b); for the overplus of the profit upon the tobacco farm, from 1738 to 1747; and to indemnify them for the expences of the negroe trade, for the losses they had sustained during the war, for their giving up the exclusive privilege of the tende to St. Domingo, and for the loss of the ton duty, which had been suspended ever since the year 1731. Yet this compensation has been thought inadequate by some of the proprietors, who have discovered, that ever fince the year 1758, upwards

<sup>(</sup>a) About 2,086,8311.183. tod. (b) About 293,1201. 173, td., (c) About 125,7901. 43. 2d. (d) 312,5001.

<sup>(</sup>e) 333,3331. 6s. 8d.

<sup>(</sup>g) 7,5∞,0001.

<sup>(</sup>f) 375,000l. ' (f) 3,750,000l.

.156 BOOK of 11,700,000 pounds weight of tobacco have been annually fold in the kingdom at three livres (a) a pound, though it had been bought for twentyfeven livres (b) a hundred.

THE nation was of a very different opinion. The directors, who prevailed upon government to acknowledge so large a debt, have been accused of facrificing the interest of the public to that of a private society. A writer, who in our days should examine whether this accusation were well or illgrounded, would pass for an idle man. Such a discussion would be altogether needless, fince every circumstance of this transaction has been made public. It will be sufficient to observe, that it was with the nine millions (c) a year, improperly facrificed by the state, that the Company was enabled to answer the demand of 8,756,065 livres (d) with which it was charged, so that the overplus remaining to them amounted to about 244,000 livres (e) of net revenue. " . It is true, they had private simple-contract debts to the amount of 74,505,000 livres (f); but they had in trade, in flock, or in debts to call in, 70,733,000 livres (g). It will be acknowledged, that belide the difference in the value, there was also some in the nature of the securities. Accordingly, the government must have expected,

that it would be obliged to fulfil the engagements of the Company. It has, however, faved ten millions of livres (b), the claims of which have been loft, or the claimants themselves have unfortunately perifhed in the revolutions that happen so frequently in Asia. The losses that have been fustained, respecting what was due to the Com-(a) 23 6d,

(c) \$75,000] (e) 10,1661. 133 4d (g) 2,947,2051. 6s. 8d.

(d) 364,8361 cs. 10d. . (/) 1,104,3751. (4) 416,6661, 133, 4d.

(b) 11. 25. 6d.

pany in Europe, in America, and in the Indies, BOOK have not been much more confiderable; and if IV. the ifles of. France and Bourbon were ever able to pay their, 106,000 livres (a) they owe, the injury upon this point would not have been of much confequence.

THE only wealth of the Company confifted' therefore in moveable and unmoveable effects; to the amount, of about twenty millions (b), and in the prospect of the extinction of the life annuities, which in time must bring in three millions(c) a year. The actual value of this article might be reckoned equal to a clear capital of thirty millions(d).មិនសំណីមើលបញ្ជាក្រឹក្សា ក្រឹក្សា ក្

· INDEPENDENT of these properties, the Company enjoyed flome very beneficial rights. The exclusive sale of coffee had been granted them; but as public utility required that an exception' should be made in 1736, with regard to coffee imported from the American illands, they obtained, by way of compensation, a yearly sum of 50,000 livres (e); which was always duly paid? Even the privilege for Mocha coffee was cancelled in 1767; the government having allowed the importation of that of the Levant. The Company obtained no indemnification on this ac-

Count it had experienced a greater loss the year before. In 1720 they had been invested with the fole right of transporting flaves to the American colonies. This fystem foon appeared to be erroneous; and it was agreed; that all the merchants in the kingdom should be at liberty to carry on the flave trade, upon condition of

<sup>(</sup>a) 295,0891, 6s. 8d. (b) 833,3331, 6s. 8d. (c) 125,0001. (d) 1,250,0001. (e) 2,0831. 63. 8d.

B.O O K adding a pistole (a) per thead to the thirteen livres (b) granted out of the royal treasury. Supposing that 15,000 negroes were disposed of every year. in the French islands, this made a clear income

of \$45,000, livres (c) for the Company, "This bounty, which was allowed them for a trade they were not concerned in, was taken off in 1767, and was made up to them by a more reasonable equivalent. The second state of the second state.

AT the first formation of the Company they had obtained a gratuity of 50 livres (d) upon every ton. of goods they should export, and of: 75 (e) upon every ton they should import from abroad. The ministry, upon the suppression of the bounty upon negroes, increased the gratuity upon every ton exported to 75 livres (f), and upon every ton imported to 80 (g). If we rate both at 6000 tons a year, we shall find a produce of above a million (b) for the Company, including the 50,000 livres (i) they received upon the coffee. c.; in the there is WHILE the income of the Company remained: entire, their expences were leffened. By the edict. of 1764, the islands of France and Bourbon were.

become the property of the government, which , engaged to fortify and defend them. By this arrangement; the Company was exonerated of two? millions (k) a year, without the least detriment to the exclusive trade they enjoyed in those two islands - 7 , 1 , 1 , 1 , 1

WITH all these seemingly prosperous circumstances, the debts of the Company were daily increasing, and it could not possibly have supported itself without the assistance of government. But for fome time past, the council of Lewis XV. had

(a) 1:6. gd. . i. (b) 10x. ted. (c) 14,375l. (d) 21. 13. 8d. . i. (e) 31. 22.6d. (f) 31. 22.6d. (g) 31. 6x. 6d. (h) 41,565l. 135' 4d. (h) 12,3683l. 6s. 8d. (h) 83,353l. 6s. 8d.

appeared to be very indifferent about the existence BOOK of that great body. At last a decree of council a IV. was issued, bearing date the 13th of August 1769, by which the king fulpended the exclusive privilege, of the India Company, and granted to all his subjects the liberty of navigating and trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, in granting this unexpected freedom, the government thought proper to lay it under fome refraint The decree which opens this new tract to private navigators, requires them to provide themselves with passports, which are to be given them gratis by the directors of the India Company. It obliges them to make their returns to Portal Orient, and no where elfe. It establishes a duty by way of Indulto on all goods imported from India; which, by a fecond decree of council; iffued on the fixth of September following, was fixed at five per cent, on all goods coming from India and China, and at three per cent, upon all commodities of the growth of the islands of France and Bourbon.

The decree of the right of August, by only the Comfuspending the privilege of the Company, seem pany loted to leave to the proprietors, the power of re-ion retiduming it: but as they faw no probability of ever ing their being able to do this, they wisely determined to trade, and liquidate their concerns in such a manner, as to their seeds all fecure their creditors, and the remains of their seeds own fortunes.

For this purpose they offered to give up to the king all the Company's ships, thirty in number; all the warehouses and other buildings belonging to them at Port l'Oficit and in India; the property of their factories, with the manufactures dependent on them; all naval and military stores; and, lastly, two thousand four hundred and fifty slaves which they had in the issands. All these

BOOK articles were valued at thirty millions (a) by the proprietors, who at the fante time demanded the pryment of 16,500,000 livres (b) which were due to them by the government.

The king agreed to the propoful, but chose to lessen the purchase-money: not that the effects were not of still greater value while they remained in the hinds of the Company; but being made ever to the government, they brought an additional incumbrance upon it. So that, instead of 46,500,000 livres (c), which the proprietors demanded, the prince, to clear all accounts with them, created a perpetual annuity for their benefit of 1,200,000 livres (d), upon a capital of thirty millions (c). The edict for that purpose was issued in January 1770

This new contract the Company mortgaged for twelve millions (f), which they borrowed upon life annuities at ten per cent and by a lottery in February following. This money was borrowed to enable them to fulfil the engagements they had entered into when they undertook the last expeditions, but it was infusherent; so that, finding, themselves utterly unable to rase more, the proprietors, at their meeting on the 7th of April 1770, made over their whole property to the king, except the capital that had been mortgaged to the proprietors of the shares

The principal articles compriled in this cellion, confifted in the abolition of 4,200,000 livres (g) in the annuties, in that part of the contract of nine millions (b) which exceeded the capital of the shares, in the hotel of Paris, in the India goods expected home in 1770 and 1771, supposed to be worth, 26,000,000 of livres (r), and, lastly, in

<sup>(</sup>a) 1,250 accl (b) 887,500l (c) 1,937,500l (d) 50 ccol (e) 1,250,000l (f) 1,835,333l 6s 8d. (e) 1,75,000l (f) 1,835,333l 6s 8d. (f) 1,835,333l 6s 8d.

three or four millions (a) of debts, to be called in BOOK from debtors either folvent or infolvent, in India, in the ifles of France and Bourbon, and at San Domingo. The proprietors engaged at the same time to furnish the king with a furn of 14,768,000 livres (b), to be raised by way of a call, which was fixed at 400 livres (e) per share. The government, in accepting these several offers, engaged on their part to pay all the perpetual and life annuities which the Company was bound to pay; all their other engagements, amounting to about fortyfive millions (d); all the pentions and Half-pays granted by the Company, amounting to 80,000 livres (e) a year, and laftly, to fland to all the charges and rifques attending a liquidation that must necessarily continue some years

· The capital of each share, which, by the edict of August 1764, had been fixed at 1600 livres (f). bearing an interest of 80 livres (g), the king now railed to 2500 livres (b), bearing an interest of 125 livres (i) a year. The new interest was made subject to a deduction of a tenth, and it was agreed that this deduction should be annually appropriated to the paying off the shares by lot, on the footing of their capital of 2500 livres (k); so that the interest on the shares thus paid off, would increase the finking fund till the whole of the shares was finally liquidated.

THESE respective conditions are recorded in a decree of council of the 8th of April, including a report of the deliberations holden the day before in a general meeting of the proprietors, and confirmed by letters patent, bearing date the 22d of the same month. In consequence of these agree-

<sup>(</sup>a) About 150,000t, upon an average. (b) 615,3331. 6s. 8d. (c) 161. 131. 4d. (d) 1,875,0001. (e) 3,3331 6s. 8d, (6) 1041 131. 4d, (/) 661. 13s 4d. (g) 31. 6a. 8d. 1 (r) 51. 41, 2d, , (k) 1041, 131, 4d. Vol. IL M

BOOK ments, the call has been paid, a sufficiency for the reimbursement of the shares, to the number of two hundred and twenty, has been taken out every year, and the simple contract debts of the Company have been punctually paid when they became due.

· FROM all these particulars, it is no easy matter to form an idea of the actual mode of existence of the India Company, and of the legal state of the trade they carried on. This Company, which at present has no property, no buliness, no object, cannot liowever be confidered as being entirely destroyed, fince the proprietors have reserved the joint stock that was mortgaged for their shares; and that they have a common cheft, and deputies to superintend their interests. On the other hand, their charter has been suspended; but it is only fuspended, and is not included among the articles which the Company has ceded to the king. The law by which it was granted is still in force; and the fhips that are fitted out for the Indian seas, cannot sail without a permission in the name. of the Company. So that the freedom which has been igranted is but a precarious one; and if the proprietors should offer to resume their trade, with a sufficient stock to carry it on, they would have an undoubted right to do it without any new law to impower them. But except this nominal right, which in fact is much the fame as if it did not exist, as the proprietors are not in a condition to exercise it;" all their other rights, properties, and factories, are now in the hands of government.

NEVERTHECES, the voyages to India have been full continued, although the tyftem of policy had not prestoully paved the way for the free trade that was to fucceed the monopoly. If found principles had been followed, before the new mode of trading had been attempted, it would have been necessary to the processor of the processor

necessary, to substitute infensibly, and by degrees, BOOK the private merchants to the Company. They should have been enabled to acquire knowledge tupon the different branches of a trade with which they were yet unacquainted. They should have been allowed time to form connections in the sactories. They should have been encouraged, and, as it were; conducted in the first expeditions. This want of foresight must be one of the principal caulles which have retarded the progress of the free trade, and which perhaps have prevented it from being lucrative when it became more extensive: it's transactions have been carried on in those sactories which were previously occupied by the monopolizing Company. Let us take

a cutfory view of those settlements, beginning with Malaban and that it is at 1: 1. 131 BETWEEN the provinces of Canara and Calicut, Present lies a diffrict which extends eighteen leagues along fate of the the coaft, and feven or eight leagues at most in upon the the inland parts. The country, which is very un coast of equal, abounds with pepper and cocoa-trees. It Malabar, is divided into several les diffricts, subject to as many Indian lords, who are all vallals to the house of Colastry! The head of this Bramin family is always to confine his whole attention to what concems the worthip of the gods. It would be beneath his dignity to stoop to profane matters; and the reins of government are given to his nearest relation. The country is divided into two provinces! 'In the largest, called the Irouvenate, is the factory of Tellicherry, where the English purchase annually fifteen hundred weight of pepper; and the factory of Cananor, which the Dutch have lately fold for about 250,000 livres , because it was an incumbrance to them.

\* 10,4161.135 4d.

BOOK THE second province, called Catenate, extends but five leagues along the coast. Here the French were called in by the natives in 1722; with a view to engage them to act against the English; but an accommodation having taken place, and made their affiftance unnecellary, they were forced to relinquish a post where they promised themselves fome advantages. Fired with refentment and ambition, they returned in great numbers m 1725, and established themselves sword-in-hand on the mouth of the river Mahé. Notwithstanding this act of violence, they obtained of the prince, who governed that diffrict, an exclusive right to the pepper trade. This favour was so great an advantage to them, that it gave rife to a colony of 6,000 Indians, who cultivated 6,350 cocoa trees, 3,967 areka, and 7,762 peppertrees. Such was the flate of this fettlement, when

The same spirit of destruction that they had shewn in all their conquests, influenced them at Mahe. Their intention was, to pull down the houses, and disperse the inhabitants. The society of the country disfluaded them from their purpose. All was spared, except the fortifications. When the French returned to their factory, they found every thing much in the same condution as they had left it.

the English made themselves masters of it in

Mahé is furrounded with hills, on which were credted five forts, that no longer exist. These works were too numerous, though forme precautions are absolutely necessary. It is not proper to be perpetually exposed to the depredations of the Nayers, who have formerly attempted to plunder and destroy the colony, and who might possibly have still the same intentions, in order to put themselves under the protection of the English at Tellucherry,

Tellicherry, which is but three miles diftant from BOOK.

Beside the posts requisite to secure the place itself, it is very necessary to fortify the entrance of the river. Since the Marattas have got ports of their own, they insest the sea about Malabar with their piracies. Those banditti even attempt to land wherever they think there is some booty to be got. Mahé would not be secure from their attacks, if it contained money or commodities to tempt them.

"The French might make themselves ample amends for any expences they should incur, if they did but carry on their trade with spirit and still. Their factory is the best situated for the pepper trade; and the country would afford 2,500,000 pounds weight of that commodity. What could not be consumed in Europe might be sold in China; on the Red Sea, and at Bengal. A pound of pepper would cost them twelve lous, and they would stell it for twenty-five or thirty †

This advantage, confiderable as it is, would be increased by the profits upon European goods. which (would be carried over to) Mahé. Those who are best acquainted with that factory are of opinion, that if will be an easy matter to dispose of 400,000 weight of iron, 200,000 of lead, 25,000 of copper, 2000 firelocks, 20,000 weight of gunpowder, 50 anchors or graplings, 50 bales of cloth, 50,000 ells of fail-cloth, a good quantity of quickfilver, and about 200 casks of wine or brandy, for the French fettled in the colony, or for the English in the neighbourhood. These feveral articles together would produce at least 384,000 livres 1, of which 153,600 & would be clear gain, allowing the profit to be 40 per cent. . \* 6d.

1 16,0001."

<sup>4</sup> About 11, 2d, on an average.

BOOK Another advantage attending this circulation is. that there would always be a stock in the factory, which would enable them to purchase the productions of the country in the feafons of the year

when they are cheapeft: THE greatest obstacle to trade is the customhouse established in the colony. This troublesome duty belongs to the sovereign of the country, and has always been a fubject of contention. The English of Tellicherry, who laboured under the fame grievance, have found means to prevent all disputes about these duties, by paying a certain yearly sum as an equivalent. The French might do the same; but they cannot expect that the prince would agree to it, unless they previously pay him the 46,353 roupees, or 111,247 livres 4 fols \*, which he has lent; and unless they no longer refuse him the tribute stipulated for the benefit of living peaceably upon his territories. Matters cannot be fo easily adjusted at Bengal.

Prefent

Prefent
FRANCE has engaged, by the treaty of 1763,
French at to erect no fortifications, and keep no troops in
Bengal that rich and extensive country. The English who are fovereigns there, will not fuffer the French to deviate from what they have required. Confequently Chandernagore, which before the last war reckoned 60,000 fouls, and has now but 24,000, is, and always will be, entirely an open

> To this misfortune of a precarious fituation, may be added injuries and hardships of every kind. Not fatisfied with the possession of unlimited authority, the English have been guilty of the most scandalous enormities. They have insulted the French in their work-shops; seduced their

workmen; cut the linens off of the looms; inlifted BOOK that the manufacturers should do no work but for 1v. them in the three best months of the year; and that their own ladings should be picked out and completed before any thing was removed out of the work-shops, . The scheme which the French and Dutch had contrived together, of making an exact estimate of the number of weavers, taking only half between them, and leaving the rest to the English, has been considered as an insult. That ruling nation have proceeded fo far as to declare, that they would have their factors buy the goods even in Chandernagore; and the French have been forced to submit to this hardship, or they would have been excluded from every market in Bengal. In a word, they have so much abused the unjust right of victory, that a philosopher might be tempted to wish for the ruin of their liberty, were not the, people infinitely more oppressive and cruel under the government of one man, than under a government tempered by the influence of many.

As long as things remain upon the prefent footing in that opulent part of Asia, the French will meet with perpetual hardflips and mortifications, and therefore no folid and lasting advantage can accrue to trade. They would be referred from this thigrace, if they could exchange Chandernagore

for Chatigan.

CHATIOAN is fituated on the confines of Arracan. The Portogracie, who in the clays of their prosperity endeadoured to get all the important posts in India into their own hands, made a confiderable, establishment at that place. Those who were settled there three off the poke of their native country, when it became a part of the Spanish dominions, chusing rather to turn prates than to be slaves. They long insested the neighbouring

coefts

BOOK coafts and feas with their depredations. At laft Iv. they were attacked by the Moguls, who raifed a colony upon their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people of Arracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal. This place then funk into obscurity till 1758, when the

English arrived and settled there. THE, climate is healthy, the waters excellent, and provisions are in great plenty; the landing is easy, and the anchorage safe. The continent and the island of Sondiva make a tolerable harbour. The rivers Barramputri and Etki, which are branches of the Ganges, or at least communicate with it, greatly facilitate commercial operations. If Chatigan be further distant from Patna, Cassimbuzar, and fome other markets, than the European colonies on the river Hughly, it is nearer to Jogdia, Dacca, and all the manufactures of the lower river. It is a matter of no consequence, whether ships of burden can or cannot enter the Ganges on that side, as the inland navigation is never carried on but with boats.

Though the knowledge the English had of these advantages had determined them to seize upon Chatigan, we are inclined to think they would have given it up at the last peace, to get id of the French, and remove them from a place which lies too near their own settlements, and which long habit had endeared to them. We even presume, that at Chatigan the English would have desisted from those conditions they required at Chandernagore, which stamp a digrace upon the possession, more detrimental to the schemes of commerce than it is possible to conceive. Trade is a free prosession. The sea, the voyages, the

to trade, which, when confined, languishes, and BOOK is lost.

The present opportunity is, perhaps, a favourable one, to think of the exchange we propose. The fortifications which the English had begun to erect at Chatigan' having been thrown down by frequent earthquakes, they feem to have taken a dislike to a place for which they had shewn tome predilection. As to the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be presented to that of living in a desenceles town. It is better to strive against nature than against men, and to be exposed to the shocks of the earth than to the infults of nations. The French, though restrained at Bengal, fortunately meet with some compensation, in having a better situation on the coast of Coromandel

To the north of that very extensive coast, they Prefent fipossess Yanam, in the province of Rajahmandry, tuation of This factory, which has no land belonging to it, the French and is fituated nine miles from the mouth of the coaft of river Ingerom, was formerly a 'very flourishing Coroman-From mistaken motives it was neglected del. about the year 1748. It would, however, afford goods to the value of 4 or 500,000 livres , as the cotton manufactures are very confiderable in that neighbourhood, and the cottons remarkably fine and good. It has been found by experience to be a good market for disposing of European cloth, The trade of this place would be more lucrative, if they were not obliged to share the profit with the English, who have a small settlement within two miles of the French.

The competition is much more detrimental to their interest at Massilipatnam. The French, who formerly were masters of the whole town, but have

<sup>\*</sup> From 16,6661. 135. 4d 'to 20,8331. 65. 8d.

B O O K nothing left now except the factory they had before IV. 1749, cannot possibly contend with the English,

who make them pay duty for all their imports and exports, and enjoy befides all the favour in their own trade which fovereignty can command. Things being thus circumftanced, the French confine their dealings to the purchase of some fine handkerchies and other callicoes, to the amount of 150,000 liv-

res \*. It is far otherwise at Karical.

This town, fituated in the kingdom of Tan, jour, on one of the branches of the Coleroon, which will bear ships of 150 tons burthen, was ceded to the Company in 1738, by a dethroned king, who was in want of protection. Having been restored before he had fulfilled his engagements, he retracted the gift he had made. A nabob attacked the place with his army, and in 1739 gave it up to the French, who were in friendship with him. Soon after this, the ungrateful and perfidious prince was strangled by the intrigues of his uncles; and his fuccessor, who had inherited his enemies with his throne, being defirous of obtaining the friendship of a powerful nation, confirmed them in their possession. The English took the place in 1760, and blew up the fortifications. It was afterwards restored to the French, who returned thither in 1765.

IN, it's present state, Karical is an open place, which may contain 15,000 inhabitants, most of them employed in weaving ordinary handker-chiefs and cottons, for the wear of the natures. The territory belonging to it, which has been confiderably increased by the concessions which the king of Tanjour made in 1749, is now once more what it was at first, two leagues in length, and one league in the broadest part. It is composed of

fifteen hamlets, of which tone only deferves our E O O K notice; this is called Tirumale-Rayenpatnam, and contains no lefs than 25,000 fouls. The inhabitants weave and paint Persians that are tolerably fine, fit for Batavia and the Philippine islands. The Coolies and Mohammedans have small vessels, with which

they trade to Ceylon, and along the coaft. A FRANCE may draw annually from this fettlement, two hundred bales of cottons or hundkerchiefs fit for Europe, and a large quantity of rice for the fubliflence of her other colonies.

ALL goods bought at Karical, Yanam, and Mafulipatnam, are carried to Pondicherry, the chief

fettlement of the French in India.

This town, which role from fuch fmall beginnings, in time became a great, powerful, and farnous city. The streets, which are all strait, and most of them broad, are lined with two rows of trees, which keep them cool even in the heat of the day. The most remarkable public edifices are a mosque, two pagodas, two churches, and the governor's house, which is reckoned the most magnificent building in the east. A small citadel had been constructed in the year 1704; but it is of no use, since houses have been allowed to be built all round it. To supply the loss of this defence, three fides of the town had been fortified with a rampart, a ditch, baftions, and a glacis, which was unfinished in some places. The road was defended by some batteries judiciously placed.

The town, which was full a league in circumference, contained 70,000 linhabitants, of which 4000 were Europeans, Meltees, or Topaffes. There were at most 10,000 Mohammedans; the rest were Indians, 15,000 of whom were Christians, and the others of seventeen or eighteen different casts or tribes. Three villages, dependent on the town, might contain 10,000 souls. BOOK

Such was the state of the colony, when the English made themselves masters of it in the be ginning of the year 1761, utterly destroyed it, and turned out the inhabitunts. Others may, perhaps, examine whether the bathatous right of war could justify such enormities. Let us turn away our eyes from so many cruelties committed by a free, magnanimous, and enlightened nation, and consider only the resolution France has taken to restore Pondicherry to it's former splendour. Every thing concurs to justify the wisdom of this choice.

This town, like all others on the coast of Coromandel, has no harbour, but it has a much more commodious road. The thips can anchor close to the shore, under the cannon of the formfications It's territory, which is three leagues long and one league broad, is nothing more than a barren fand bank on the fea coaft . but the greatest part is fit for the culture! of rice. vegetables, and a root called chayaver, which is used for dying Two fmall rivers that crofs the country, but are not navigable, afford excellent water for the fame purpose, particularly for the blue dye Three miles from the town is a hill, which rifes a hundred toiles above the level of the fea, and is a guide to fhips at the diffance of feven or eight leagues, which is a very confiderable advantage upon fo flat a coast At the top of this hill is a very large body of water, that has been collecting for ages, and, after refreshing and fertilizing a spacious territory, flows down to water the grounds about Pondicherry. Lastly, the colony is favourably situated for the reception of provisions and merchandise from the Carnatic, the Lingdoms of Myfore and Tanjour

issuen were the important reasons which determined France to rebuild Pondicherry. As soon as her agents appeared on the 11th of April 1765, the unfortunate Indians, who had been dispersed B O O K by the calamities of war, and by political intrigues, flocked thither in great, numbers. By the beginning of the year 1770, there were 27,000 who had rebuilt their ruined houses. They are all brought up in the idea, that no man can be happy, who does not die in the very, place where he first faw the light. This prejudice, so pleasing to them, and which it may be fo, uleful to keep up, will undoubtedly make them all return, as foon as the

town is inclosed: 13 care -to- 15 - 3 car ... This delign was let on foot fome years after the French, had regained possession of the place. No other idea was then entertained with regard to building upon a fandy foil, where the foundations must necessarily be laid in the water, than that of a fortification mised fur puits, a very expensive kind of work, and to which there is, as it were, no end ... M. Bourcet preferred the erecting of it upon forelands, with a revetement (or outward coating) of no thickness, sloping to two fifths of it's height, and supported, by a rampart of wet carth, well beat and compacted. These forelands had been formerly employed in the construction of the walls furrounding the place: but the foundation of the walls which supported them had been laid fufficiently, deep to prevent the finking that would have been produced by the running off of the fands which might have escaped from under these foundations, an advantage which the new mode of confirmation was fan from heaving. Topon this bad plan a thousand toiles of reverement were raifed. The company of the

. No fooner, were the ministry in Europe informed of the defects of these works, than they sent M. Desclaisons, a man distinguished in the corps of engineers by his probity and talents. This skilful engineer did not adopt either the fortificaBOOk trons fur putts, or those on forelands with revetemens stipping to two fifths of their height. He began his work in February 1770, and completed in seven months an extent of six hundred and thirty six toises, with ten seet of net malonry above the soundation, which was laid at the lowest point where it was possible to drain off the waters. His masonry was solid, and his revolument constructed according to the rules of the greatest masters.

The fpirit of intrigue, which then carried every thing at Verfailles, occasioned M Declai fons to be recalled, and he was succeeded by the sume engineer whose works had so justly been censured. This man had recourse to his former method, although every thing he had done before was already eracked, and he executed a new extent of fortification of eight hundred tosses, which felt to pieces in the same manner as the former?

THE voice of reason, which will sometimes make itself be heard, prevailed upon the govern ment to apply again to M Desclations in 1775 He was defired to undertake the completion of the works of Pondicherry, but at the same time to keep the fortifications that were already erect ed This mode of proceeding was too reptignant to found principles for him to accede to it, and he judged it indispensibly necessary to facilities every thing that had been executed contrary to the rules of the art 'He demonstrated, that the works erected upon forelands were improper both for defence and duration, that the inclined revêtemens could not fail of breaking either hori zontally or vertically, that a wall placed before the forelands must necessarily make them decay, and might occasion the finking and destruction of the revelemens themselves His opinion was, that

it was proper to defend Pondicherry according to B'O O K the methods practifed in Europe; and that an inclosure with simple bastions and a few out-works was fulficient: The expences of this fortification were to amount to five millions of livres . ... This reasoning, though not controverted, was not acceded to; and the place remained defenceless, or in a state of weakness and ruin, which is every day increasing. Statement of the second of the s - THE French factories in India, in their present flate, do not produce more than 200,000 livres +: while they cost more than 2,000,000 of livres # every year. This is a very confiderable facrifice; and yet it is less than what is required for the prefervation of the files lof. France, and Bourbon; which are not in fo flourishing a flate as they were expected to have been the or the third in this

Bournon is fixty miles in length, and forty. Prefent five in breadth; but nature has rendered uteless face of the the greatest part of this, extensive space. "Three Bourboninaccessible speaks, which are sixteen shundred

inacceffible 'peaks, which' are fixteen hundred toifes high; a dreadful volcano, the environs of which are always 'burneviup, numberless ravines, of 'fo freep' a defeent that it is impossible to clear the foil; mountains, the fummit of which is 'conflantly arid; coasts in general covered with stones these are fo many natural and unfurmountable of stacks to a cultivation of any extent. Most of the lands even, which can be cultivated, are sloping; and it is not uniconimon to see the best foinded expectations frustrated by torrents.

A BEAUTIFUL "Ry; a pure air, a delicious ellmate, and wholefome waters, have however collected in the illand a population of fix thousand three bundred and forty white men, well made, frong, courageous, and distributed in nine pa-

<sup>\*208,3331.64.8</sup>d. + 8,3331.62.8d. 183,3331.64.8d. ;

BOOK rishes, of which that of St. Dennis is the principal.

These men, a few years ago, were celebrated for a spirit of candour, equity, and moderation worthy of the primitive ages. The war of 1756 produced some little alteration in their character, without affecting materially their morals.

These virtues were the more remarkable, as they fprang up and were maintained in the midst of fix-and-twenty thousand one hundred and feventy-five slaves, according to the calculation made in 1776.

Ar the same period, the colony reckoned sevenand fifty thousand, eight hundred and fifty-eight animals, not one of which was devoted to agniculture. Excepting two thousand eight hundred and ninety-one horses, which were employed for different purposes, the rest were entirely defined for subfishence.

In this year the produce of the harveft rose to five millions four hundred and forty-one thousand twenty-five quintals of corn; to three millions one hundred and ninety one thousand four hundred and forty tons of rice; to twenty-two millions four hundred and fixty-one thousand eight hundred tons of mays; and to two millions five hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and ninety tons of pulse. Most of these productions were consumed in Bourbon itself; the rest supplied substitutes to the ille of France.

The colony cultivated for the mother-country eight millions four hundred and ninety-three thouland coffee-plants, the fruit of which is of the best kind next to that of Arabia. Each of their trees yielded originally near two pounds of coffee. Thus produce is diminished by three-coffee, Thus produce is diminished by three-fourths, since the cultivation has been carried on in an open country; since the planters have been under a necessity of growing their trees in an exhausted.

hausted foil, and since the infects have attacked BOOK them.

The court of Versailles will never attend to the improvement of a colony, where steep shores, and a sea violently agitated, render the navigation always dangerous, and often impracticable. It were rather to be wished that it might be abandoned, because it is a powerful attraction to some men, and to some exertions, which should rather be all concentrated in the sile of France, which is only sycand thirty leavues distant from it.

is only five and thirty leagues diffant from it::

ACCORDING to the observations of the Abbé Present de la Caille, this other possession measures thirty-life of one thousand eight hundred and ninety toises in France. It's greatest diameter; twenty-two thousand one anceosit hundred and twenty-four in it's greatest breadth; featteniad four hundred and thirty-two thousand fix hundred and mountains are to be seen in it; not one of which is already more than four hundred and twenty-four toises benedone, high. Although the foil be in all parts covered what still with stones of a greater or less size so that it can remains to not be tilled with the plough, but must be worked for it.

with the space, it is, nevertheless six for many: things. Though more superficial and less fertile—than that of Bourbon, it is more generally susceptible of cultivation.

Trus iffland for a long time engaged the speculation, rather than the industry of it's possessions; they wasted their time in conjectures concerning the use it might be purite.

Some were inclined to make a mart of it, where all India goods should center. They were to be brought thuser on India bottoms, and then shipped on board French vessels; which were never to go any further. A double advantage evidently arose from this scheme; first, the expenses were lessened, as both the pay and the maintenance of Vor. H.

B O O'K India failors is very trifling; and, fecondly, the flips crews were better preferved, for these were fometimes destroyed by the length of the voyage alone, and still more frequently by the climate, especially in Arabia and at Bengal. This plan met with no support. It was feared that the Company would fall into contempt, unless they diplayed, in these distant latitudes, a naval force sufficient to insure respect.

OTHERS, agreeably to a new fystem which engaged their attention, were of opinion that the inhabitants of the Isle of France should be allowed to trade to India, which they had never yet been suffered to do. The supporters of this system maintained, that the proposed freedom would prove an abundant source of wealth to the colony, and consequently to the mother-country. But the island was then in want of both vessels and specie; it had no articles for exportation, nor means of consumption. For all these reasons, the experiment proved unsuccessful, and it was resolved that the island should be entirely confined to agriculture.

This new regulation gave rife to fresh miltakes. Men were fent from the mother-country to the colony, who neither understood husbandry, nor were accustomed to labour. The lands were distributed at a venture, and without distinguishing what was to be cleared from what did not want Money was advanced to the planters, not in proportion to their industry, but to the interest they could make with the government. Company, who got cent. per cent. upon the commodities the colony drew from Europe, and fifty per cent, upon those that were fent in from India, required that the produce of the country should be delivered into their warehouses at a very low price. To complete the misfortunes of the colony,

lony, the company, who had kept all the power B O O K in their own hands, broke the engagements they had entered into with their subjects, or rather with their slaves.

UNDER such an administration, no improvements could be expected. Discouragement threw most of the colonists into a state of inaction. Those who had some share of industry remaining, were either in want of the means that lead to prosperity, or were not supported by that strength of mind which enables men to surmount the dissipation of the subject of

In 1764, the government took the colony under it's own immediate controul. From that period, to 1776, a population has been successive formed there of the thousand three hundred and eighty-fix white men, including two thousand nine hundred and fifty-five foldiers; of eleven hundred and ninety-nine free negroes; and of twenty-five thousand one hundred and fifty-four slaves. The cattle on the island has also been increased to twenty-five thousand three hundred and fixty-feven.

The coffee-tree has employed a confiderable number of planters; but the hurricanes that have fucceeded each other with extreme rapidity, have prevented any advantage being derived from these plantations. The toil itself, which is in general ferruginous and of little depth, seems improper for this culture. It might therefore with reason be doubted whether it would succeed here, if even the government had not endeavoured to check it, by the duties that have been laid on the coffee at the face of the confiderable with the coffee and the coffee

BOOK it's going out of the island, and at it's entrance in IV. France.

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There fugar-plantations have been established, and these are sufficient for the wants of the colony.

No more than forty thousand weight of cotton has yet been gathered. This last commodity is of a good kind, and every thing promises an increase of it.

The camphor, the aloes, the cocoa-tree, the agallochum, the fago, the cardamon, the cinnamon-tree, and many other vegetables proper to Afia, which have been naturalized in the illand, will probably always remain objects of mere curiofity.

Some iron mines had been discovered a long time; but it has been found necessary to abandon these, because they could not support the competition of those in Europe.

It is well known, that for these two hundred years, the Dutch have been enriching themselves by the sale of cloves and nutmegs. To secure to themselves the exclusive trade of these articles, they have destroyed or enslaved the nation that was in bossession of these said to the terms of these said to the terms of these said to the terms of the said to the terms of the said to the terms of the said to the said to

they have destroyed or enslaved the nation that was in possession of those spices; and, lest the price of them should fall, even in their own hands, they have rooted up most of the trees, and have frequently burnt the fruit of those they had preferved.

This barbarous avidity, which has so of enterey.

This barbarous avidity, which has so often excited the indignation of other nations, so strongly exasperated Mr. Poivre (who had travelled all over Asia as a naturalit and a philosopher), that he availed himself of the authority he was intrusted with in the site of France, and sent men into the least frequented parts of the Moluccas, to search for what avarice had for so long, a time withholden from the rest of the world. The labours bours of those intrepid and fagacious navigators, BOOK in whom he had confided, were crowned with fuccess.

On the 27th of June 1770, they brought to the Isle of France 450 nutmeg and 70 clove-trees; 10,000 nutmegs, either growing, or ready to . grow; and a cheft of cloves, feveral of which were fprung up. Two years after this, another importation was made, much more confiderable than the former.

Some of these precious plants were carried to the islands of Seychelles, of Bourbon, and of Cayenne; but the greater part of them remained in the ifle of France. All those which were distributed among private persons perished. The care of the most skilful botanists, the most confrant attention, and the most considerable expences, could not preferve, even in the king's garden, more than fifty-eight nutmeg, and thirtyeight clove-trees. In the month of October 1775, two of these last bore flowers, which were changed into fruit the next year. That which we have feen is small, dry and meager. If they are not improved by a long naturalization, the Dutch will only have had a false alarm, and they will remain immutably the mafters of the spice trade.

Sound policy has given another destination to the Isle of France. The quantity of corn there must be increased; and the crops of rice extended by a more judicious distribution of the waters: it is equally important to attend to the multiplying of the cattle, and to the improvement of the breed.

THESE objects of first necessity were for a long time inconsiderable, although it was an easy matter to form pasturages, and although the soil yielded twenty for one. Only a few years ago it was fuggested to the government, to buy up, at a good price,

BOOK price, all the grain which the planters might have
to fell; and at this period the harvefts were increafed. If this plan be uninterruptedly followed,
the colony will foon furnish provisions for it's inhabitants, for the navigators that may frequent
it's roads, and for the armies and fleets which circumstances will fooner or later bring there. Then
this island will be what it should, the bulwark of
all the settlements which France possesses, or may
one day acquire in the Indies; the center of all

her interest will oblige her to undertake, or to suftain, in these distant regions.

It is situated in the African seas, just at the entrance of the Indian ocean. Though raised as high as and or burning coasts, it is temperate and wholesome. As it lies a little but of the common track, it's expeditions can be carried on with greater secrecy. Those who wish it was nearer to our continent, do not consider that, if it were so, it would be impossible to pass in a short time from it's road to the gulphs in the most distant of these regions, which is an inestimable advantage to a

military operations, offensive or defensive, which

nation that has no fea-port in India.

GREAT BRITAIN fees, with a jealous eye, her rivals possessed of a settlement where the runs of her property in Asia may be prepared. At the breaking-out of a war, her utmost efforts will certainly be exerted against a colony that threatens her richest treasures. What a missoriume for France, should she suffer herself to be deprived of it.

YET what have we not to fear, when we fee that to this day no care has been taken for the defence of this island; that the means for this purpose have always been wantings or misapplied, that the court of Verfailles, from year to year, has waited for the dispatches of the directors to come

come to a determination on this point, just as one B O O K would wait for the return of a courier from the TV. frontiers; and that even at the time we are writing, there is ftill perhaps a dispute, respecting the kind

of protection which it is most expedient to adopt for a settlement of this importance.

IT is the general opinion of feamen, that the fecurity of the Isle of France must depend entirely on the naval forces: but they acknowledge, that these forces cannot fulfil this intention, till they have been sheltered from those hurricanes so frequent and so terrible, which: prevail in these latitudes from the month of December to that of April. A great number of merchantmen have indeed been loft, and whole squadrons have received fo much injury, even in Port Louis, the only one to which feamen at prefent refort, that too much labour cannot be bestowed in guarding against these dreadful events. For a long time. the government paid little attention to this important object. It has at length determined to dig a large harbour in this road, in the comfortable hope that ships of all dimensions may one day, find a fafe afylum here.

This business cannot be pushed on with too much expedition; but supposing it executed with every possible success, the maritime forces would still be insufficient for the defence of the colony. The state will never subject itself to the expence of maintaining constantly a stationary squadron in these latitudes; and it is possible that the island may be attacked in the absence of the fleet, which may also be destroyed by sickness or by a storm. Lettit be a strong or a weak one, it still runs the risque of being beaten; and even if it were victorious, an, opportunity may have been feized of landing troops during the action. These troops would immediately march on to the port; and bluow J.

BOOK would make themselves masters of it, as well as

iv. of the victorious ships, which might have taken shelter there in order to resit. By this manœuvre, which is a very simple one, a valuable settlement would fall, without striking a blow, into the lands of an enterprising and skulful enemy. These apprehensions, which are well sounded, argue then cessive of fortifications.

Some engineers have imagined that have the strike the strike in the

cellity of fortifications.

Some engineers have imagined, that batteries judiciously disposed along the coast, would be sufficient to prevent the besiegers from landing. But since it has been ascertained that the island is accessible to boats in the greatest part of it's circumsterence, that even in teveral places, a descent could be effected by force under the protection of the men of war, this plan has been relunquished. It has been understood, that there would be an institution that the could be an institution of posts to fortify; that the expenses would be endless; that too many troops would be wanted; and that the distribution of them would

leave every point exposed to the consequence of a landing executed suddenly, or by surprise.

The idea of a war of posts has not been thought a more fortunate one. The sile of France, not-withstanding the advantage of posts, will never collect a sinficient body of troops to resist those which the enemy may bring there. The persons who have proposed this idea, have laid a stress

upon the affiftance to be obtained from the colonifts and the flaves: but they have been obliged at length to acknowledge, that this multitude, which might poffibly be of forme use behind good ramparts, could be of little or no fervice in the open field. The project of building and fortifying a city in the inland parts, has for a long time had it's partifans. Such an establishment appeared to them proper to keep the besiegers at a distance from the center of the colony, and to force them, in time,

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to relinquish any advantages they might have B'OOK gained at first. They would not be convinced IV. that without any movement on the part of an enemy, who was become malter of the ports, and of the coasts, the garrison, deprived of every external communication, would foon be reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion, or of perithing with famine. And even if the enemy were to do nothing more than fill up the roads, and destroy the arienals, magazines, and all the public edifices, would not their principal object be fulfilled? Of what concern would it be then to them, that there should be a fortress and a garrison in the midst of an island, incapable of giving them any uneafiness, or of exciting their jealousy in future?

· AFTER fo many variations and fuch uncertainties of opinion, the government has begun to be convinced, that the only method of defending the. colony is to provide for the fecurity of it's two ports; to establish a communication that shall give rife to internal connections- between them; that shall facilitate a ready distribution of the forces according to the defigns of the enemy, and that shall make the succours which might arrive from without by one or other of it's roads, common to both parties.

Port Bourbon, where the Dutch had formed their fettlement, and Port-Louis, the only one to which the French refort, had not 'hitherto appeared capable of being fortified: the first, on account of it's vast extent, the latter, on account of the irregular heights which furround it. Chevalier d'Arçon has proposed a plan which has removed all these difficulties, and which, after the fullest discussion, has obtained the approbation of those who are the best acquainted with this important art. The expences attending the exeBOOK cution of this great project have been rigidly cal

IV culated, and it is affirmed, that they will not be

confiderable

Bur what number of troops will be wanted to defend these fortifications? The skilful engineer usually requires but few He is well aware, that if many were to be fent, they would foon grow effeminate by the heat of the climate, become corrupt by the defire and expectation of gain, ruined by debauchery, and enervated by idleness. Accordingly, he has reduced them in time of peace to two thousand men, who will be easily restrain ed, exercised, and disciplined This number ap pears to him fufficient to refift any fudden or un expected attack that might fall on the colony If it were threatened with extraordinary danger from great preparations, a minister, attentive to the ftorms that are gathering, would have time enough to fend over the forces necessary to de fend it, or to act in Indostan according to circum flances

Some persons will disapprove of these views. The life of France costs the state annually eight millions of livres. This expence, which will scarce admit of any reduction, excites the indignation of many good citizens. Their wish is that this settlement should be abandored as well as Bourbon, which is only a burdensome appendage to it.

This indeed would be the scheme most expedient to be adopted, if we considered only the languishing trade now carried on by the Frenchin India. But political speculations reach beyond this object. It is foreseen, that if this resolution were adhered to, the English would drive all foreign nations from the Asiatic seas, that they would

appropriate to themselves all the riches of these B O O K extensive regions; and that so many powerful re-

extensive regions; and that to many powerful refources united in their hands would give them a dangerous influence in Europe. These considerations ought still more fully to convince the court of Versailes of the necessity of fortifying the sle of Frence; at the same time taking the most effectual precautions not to be imposed upon by the agents chosen to carry this point into execution.

However, there is so necessary a connection between the Isle of France and Pondicherry, that those two possessions are entirely dependent on each other; for, without the Isle of France, there would be no protection for the settlements in India; and, without Pondicherry, the Isle of France would be exposed to the invasion of the English from Asia as well as from Europe.

THE life of France and Pondicherry, when confidered as having a necessary and mutual connection, will be a lecutity to one another. Pondicherry will protect the life of France, as being the rival of Madras, which the English must always cover with their land and sea forces; and, on the other hand, the sile of France will always be ready to succour Pondicherry, or to act offensively, as circumstances shall require.

FROM these principles it appears how requisite it is, after having fortified the life of France, to put Pondicherry immediately in a state of desence. This place will become the necessary staple of all the trade carried on with India, as well as a deposit of all the troops and provisions that will be sent there. It will also serve to protect a small force, when offensive measures are pursued.

When the life of France and Pondicherry are once put in a proper posture of defence, the court of Versalles will no longer scruple to afford the merchants that protection which the sovereign

B O O Lowes to his fubjects, throughout the whole of his dominions. The British ministry, on their parts, will be more fully convinced than they have in their appeared to be, of the necessity of restraining the English traders within the bounds of moderation and justice. But will the English Company be made to give up the abuse of power, and to renounce those loose principles which their also missing success has inspired them with? This can not be expected. Their resistance vould produce acrimony the interests of the two nations would class, and war would ensure.

FAR be it from us to fuggeft any idea that would tend to rekindle the flames of discord Rather let the voice of reason and philosophy be heard by the rulers of the world May all fovereigns, after fo many ages of error, learn to prefer the virtuous glory of making a few men happy, to the mad ambition of reigning over walted regions, and people groaning under the weight of oppression! May all men, become brethren, accustom them felves to confider the universe as one family under the eye of one common Father! But these wishes which are those of every enlightened and humane man, will appear as idle dreams to ambitious mi nifters, who hold the reins of empire Their buly and reftless disposition will ftill shed torrents of blood

Some putful commercial interest will age a arm the French and the English Though Great Britain, in most of her wars, has aimed chiefly at destroying the industry of her neighbours, and though the superiority of her navil forces may still keep up the hope, so often disponited, or effecting this, yet we may safely forceal that she would chiefe to remove the scene of action from the seasof Asia, where she would have so little to gran, and so much to lose. That power is not ignorant.

of the fecret wifnes formed on all fides for the BOOK overthrow of an edifice, which eclipses all the rest... The fubali of Bengal is fecretly exasperated that he has not even the appearance of authority left. The fulsh of the Decan is inconfolable to fee his commerce under the controll of a foreign power. The nabob of Arcot endeavours to dispel the jealousies of his tyrants. The Marattas are evasperated to find perpetual obstacles to their depredations. All the powers of these countries are either actually enflayed, or think themselves on the eve of being fo. England, we may prefume, would not with to see the French at the head of such a consederacy. On the contrary, we may venture to fortell. that a strict neutrality for India would be the wifest plan they could purfue, and the one they would most readily adopt.

, Bur would this fystem be as eligible for their rivals? Certainly not. The French are aware. that warlike preparations made at the Isle of France might be employed with advantage; that the conquests of the English are too extensive not to be open to attacks; and that, fince their experienced officers are returned home, the British possessions in Indostan are only defended by young men, more intent upon making their fortunes than upon military exercises. It is therefore to the prefumed, that a warlike nation would eagerly feize an opportunity of repairing their former At the fight of their standards, all these oppressed sovereigns would take the field. and the rulers of India, furrounded with enemies. and attacked at once on the north and on the fouth, by fea and by land, would infallibly be overpowered.

They the French, confidered as the deliverers Principles of Indoftan, would emerge from that flate of hin, which the miliation into which their own mifconduct hath rench ought to plunged purfue in

OOK plunged them. They would become the idols of the princes and people of Afia, provided the revolution brought about by them should prove a lıa, if lesson of moderation. Their trade would be extensive and flourishing, so long as they knew how r recoto be just. But this prosperity would end in some sidera- fatal catastrophe, should an inordinate ambition prompt them to plunder, ravage, and oppress. They would then, in their turn, share the same fate as their extravagant and cruel rivals whom they had reduced.

To conquer, or to plunder with violence, is the fame thing. The plunderer and the violent man

are always objects of detestation.

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re.

PERHAPS it may be true, that great riches are not to be rapidly acquired without great injuffice; but it is not less true, that an unjust man is unverfally hated; and it is a matter of uncertainty, whether the wealth he hath gained will indemnify him for the odium he liath incurred.

THERE is not any one nation that is not jealous of the prosperity of another. Why must this jealoufy be perpetuated, notwithstanding the expen-

ence of it's fatal confequences?

THERE is but one lawful mode of obtaining a superiority over our competitors: this is, mildness in administration; faithful observance of engagements; the having goods of a better quality and ' the being fatisfied with a moderate profit. Why should we have recourse to other measures, which become more hurtful in process of time than they are useful at the moment?

Let the merchant be humane and just, and if he should enjoy possessions, let them not be usurped. Usurpation is inconsistent with quiet enjoyment.

To act with policy, or to cheat with dexterity, is the same thing, and the only result of it is miftrust, which arises as soon as the duplicity is dif B O O K covered, and is never removed.

Ir it be a matter of importance to a citizen, to establish a character in society, it is of much higher confequence to a nation to acquire one among other nations, in the midft of which it's intention

is to fettle and prosper.

A wise people will never fuffer that any incroachment should be made upon liberty or property. They will respect the conjugal tie; they. will conform to the cultoms of the country; and wait for a change of manners from time. If they do not bend the knee before the Gods of the country, they will at least carefully abstain from breaking their altars; let them rather fall by their antiquity. These people will thus become naturalized.

WHAT lesson shall we have learnt from the masfacre of fo many Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French, unless it have taught to keep upon good terms with the natives? If we act with them as our predecessors have done, we shall certainly be maffacred, as they have been.

LET us, therefore, no longer be impostors on our first appearance; servile, when we are received; infolent, when we think ourfelves ftrong; and cruel, when we are become all-powerful.

To infure the affection of the inhabitants of any district, is the only circumstance that can render your fettlements firm. Act in such a manner that thele inhabitants shall defend you when tyou are attacked. If they do not defend, they will betray

you.

NATIONS that are subdued, long for a deliverer; nations that are oppressed, for an avenger; and they will foon find one.

Will ye be always extravagant enough to prefer flaves to men that are free, discontented to affectionate

BOOK affectionate subjects; enemies to friends; foes to

If ye should happen to take a part in the disputes between two princes, be not lightly influenced by the call of interest against the claims of justice. What compensation can ye have for losing the title of just? Be rather mediators than auxiliaries. The part of a mediator is always respected; that of an auxiliary always hazardous. Will ye still continue to massacre, imprison, and plunder, those who have nut therefelves under some of the part of the properties.

ftill continue to maffacre, imprifon, and plunder those who have put themselves under your protection? Proud Europeans, ye have not always conquered by the force of arms. Will ye not at length be athanned of having so frequently degraded yourselves to act the part of corruppers of the brave commanders of your enemies?

What do those fortsannounce with which you have lined all the coasts; unless it be your terror and the odium of those that furround you? Ye will no longer be under apprehensions; when ye are no longer deterled. Ye will no longer be deterled when ye are benevolent. The savage, is well as the civilized man, aspires after happines.

The advantages of population, and the means of increafing it, are the fame in both hemilpheres.

Upon whatever foot ye may fettle, if ye respect yourselves, and if ye act as the founders of cities, ye will soon acquire a pouer not to be subverted. Encourage, therefore, every kind of increase in every rank and prosession, except that of priest-lood. Let there be no reigning religion. Let

every man praise God in the manner most agree-

the

able to him. Let morality be established on the globe; it is the business of toleration.

The ship that should transport into your colonies healthy and vigorous young men, with industrious and prudent young women, would be the best laden of all your vessels. It would prove

the fource of eternal peace between you and the BOOK natives.

Do not multiply productions alone, but multiply farmers, confumers, and with them every plecies of industry, every branch of commerce. Much will fill remain to be done, while you do not meet with your colonits on the sas; while they are not as frequently seen upon your shores are your traders are upon their's.

Punish the crimes of your own people still more feverely than those of the natives. Thus it is that you will inspire the latter with respect for the au-

thority of the laws.

Let every agent, not only convicted, but even suspected of the slightest extortion, be instantly recalled. When venality is proved, punish it upon the spot, that there may be no temptation on one part to offer, what it would be instances on the other to receive.

EVERY thing is loft, while your agents are only protected persons, or men of bad same; the former, who are intent only upon repairing their fortunes, by plundering at a distance; the latter, who come to hide their ignominy in your counting-houses and sactories. There is no integrity so confirmed, as to be exposed to cross the line without risk of being tainted.

Is ye are just and humane, people will remain with you; they will do more; they will even quit distant countries to come and reside among you.

APPOINT fome days of reft; and inflitute fome feftivals, but let them be merely of a civil nature. You will be ever bleft indeed, if the most chearful of these festivals shall be celebrated in commemoration of your first arrival in the country.

Be faithful to the treaties you have concluded. Let your ally find an advantage in them, which is the only legitimate guarantee of their duration. If Vol. II. BOOKI be injured, either by my own ignorance, or by
IV.1
your cunning, vain is the oath I have taken; heaven
and earth will release me from it.

As long as ye shall separate the good of the nation that has received you; from your own advantage, ye will be oppressors and tyrants; and it is by the title of benefactors alone that we can conciliate affection.

ir the man who dwells near you should bury his gold, you may be affured that he curses you.

To what purpose is it that ye oppose a revolution, which, though distant, will certainly be accomplished, notwithstanding all your efforts to prevent it? The world that you have invaded must free itself from that which you inhabit. Then the seas will only separate friends and brothers. What great calamity do ye see in this, ye unjust, cruel and inflexible tyrants?

The edifice of wifdom is not eternal: but that of folly is continually tottering, and foon falls to pieces. Wifdom imprints it's lafting characters upon the rocks; Folly fraces her's on the fand. Settlements have been formed; and fubverted; ruins have been heaped on ruins; countries har were well peopled have become defert; ports that were full of buildings have been abandoned; staft trachs that had been ill cemented with blood have feparated, and have brought to view the bones of murderers and of tyrants confounded with each other. It feems as if from one region to another proferity had been purfued by an evil genius which fpeaks our feverall anguages, and which diffuses the fame calamities in all parts.

Let our first victims no longer seel themselves avenged, and rejoice at sight of the rage we are continually exerting against each other. May these ideas, thrown out without art, and as they presented themselves to my mind, make a deep and

and lasting impression! May it please Heaven, BOOK that henceforth I should have nothing but your W. moderation and wisdom to celebrate: for it is agreeable to me to praise; and painful to censure. Let us now examine what has been the conduct of the northern powers, in endeavouring to share in the commerce of Asia: for the spirit of luxury, penetrating also into these regions of iron and ice, has made the inhabitants cover the riches and the enjoyments of other nations,

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Trade of Denmark, Ostend, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, and Russia, to the East Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with India.

BOOK THE most powerful nations, as well as the largest rivers, have been infignificant in their origin. It would be difficult to produce one fingle instance of a nation, fince the creation of the world, that has either extended or enucled itself, during a long interval of tranquility, by the progress of industry alone, or by the mere resources of it's population. Nature, which makes vultures and doves, creates also that ferocious band, that is one day to rush upon the peaceful fociety which has been formed in it's neighbourhood, or which it may meet with in it's wandering incursions. The purity of blood among nations, if we may be allowed the expression, as well as the purity of blood among families, cannot be more than temporary, unless kept up by whimfical or religious inflitutions ture is the necessary result of an infinite number of causes; and from this mixture a race univerfally springs up, which is either improved of degenerated, according as the character and manners of the conqueror have adapted themselves to the character and manners of the conquered; or as the character and manners of the conquered people have given way to those of the conqueror. Among the various causes which somest bring about this intermixture, that which preents itself as the primary and principal one, is BOOK emigration; more or less excited by the barrenness of the soil, and the disagreeableness of the refidence. If the eagle were to find an eafy lublistence among the defert rocks that have been witness to his birth, his rapid flight would never have carried him, with his bill half open, and his claws extended, against the innocent cattle that feed at the foot of his craggy afylum. . But what does this ravenous and warlike bird do, after he has feized his prey? He repairs anew to the fummit of his rock, from whence he only descends when he is again folicited by want. It is in, the fame manner that the favage treats his civilized neighbour; and his plunder would be perpetual, if nature had not placed between the inhabitant of one region and that of another, between the man of the mountain, and the man who dwells in the valley or among the fens, the same barrier that separates the different species of animals.

Ir is the general opinion, that, in the earliest Ancient times, a people called the Cimbri pollessed, at one in the extremity of Germania, the Cimbrian Cher-Denmark. fonefus, now known by the name of Holftein, Sleswic, and Jutland; and that the Teutones lived ... in the adjacent islands. Whether these people had, or had not, a common origin, it is certain, that they came out of their forests, or out of their marshes, in a collective body, and as one nation, and penetrated among the Gauls, in quest of plunder, glory, and a milder climate. They were even preparing to cross the Alps, when Rome judged it necessary to stem a torrent which carried all before it. Those barbarians triumphed over all the generals that proud republic fent to oppose them, till the memorable æra when they were totally defeated by Marius.

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BOOK THEIR country, which became almost a defent after that terrible catastrophe, was peopled again by the Scythians, who, being driven by Pompey out of that vast space between the Euxine and the Caspian sea, marched towards the north and west of Europe, subduing all the nations they found in their way. They conquered Russia, Saxony, Westphalia, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and the countries as far as Finland, Norway, and Sweden. It is pretended that Wodin, their leader, traversed so many countries, and endeavoured to subduc them, only with a view to stimulate the people against the formidable, odious, and tyrannical power of the Romans. That spirit of animolity, which he had excited in the north, operated fecretly with so much force after his death, that in a few centuries all nations agreed to turn their arms against that empire, the declared enemy of all liberty; and, after having shaken it by repeated attacks, were at length fuccessful enough totally to

fubvert it.

Denmark and Norway remained without inhabitants after these glorious expeditions by insensible degrees they recovered their some state, and began to be of some consequence again cowards the beginning of the eighth century. Their valour now, exerted itself, not on land, but on the ocean. Surrounded as they were by two seas, they commenced pirates, which is always the first step towards navigation in uncivilized nations.

They first made trial of their strength against the neighbouring states, and seized the few merchant ships they found failing up and down the Baltic. Emboldened by these successes, they were enabled to plan more considerable undertakings. They insested the seas and coasts of Scotland, Irland, England, Flanders, France, and even of

Spain,

Spain; Italy, and Greece. They frequently pe-B C O K netrated into the inland parts of those extensive countries, and even ventured upon the conquest of Normandy and England. Notwithstanding the confusion that reigns in the annals of those barbarous times, we may still trace some of the causes of some nanyextraordinary events.

THE inhabitants of Denmark and Norway had originally a strong propensity, to piracy, which has always been observed in people bordering upon the fea, when they are not restrained by civilization and good laws. Cuftom must necessarily have made the ocean familiar to them; and inured them to it's storms. Having-no agriculture, breeding but few cattle, and finding but a scanty resource from the chace, in a country covered with ice and fnow, they could have no ftrong attachment to their native land. The facility with which they built their ships, which were nothing more than rafts coarfely put together for the purpose of failing along the coasts, enabled them to go to all parts, to land their forces, to plunder, and to reimbark. Piracy was to them, what it had been to the first heroes of Greece, the road to glory and fortune; an honourable profession, which confifted in a contempt of all danger. This idea inspired them with invincible courage in their expeditions, fometimes carried on under the joint command of different, chiefs, and fometimes divided into as many armaments as nations. These fudden attacks, made in a variety of places at the fame time, left only to the inhabitants of the coasts, which were but ill defended, in confequence of their being under a bad government, . the dreadful alternative either of being maffacred, or giving up all their property to redeem their lives.

BOOK THIS propenfity to plunder was a natural consequence of the savage this of the Danes and Norwegians, and of the rough and military education they received; but it was more particularly the effect of the religion of Wodin. That victorious impostor improved, if we may be allowed to fay fo, the natural fierceness of those nations by his fanguinary tenets. He ordered that all the implements of war, fuch as fwords, axes, and lances, should be deified. The most facred engagements were confirmed by these inftruments which they fo highly valued. A lance fet up in the middle of a plain, was the fignal for prayer and sacrifice. Wodin himself at his death was ranked among the immortal gods, and was the first deity of those horrid regions, where the rocks and woods were stained and confectated with human blood. His followers thought they honoured him by calling him the god of armies, the father of flaughter, the destroyer of mankind, the promoter of discord. The warriors, when they went to battle, made a vow to fend him's certain number of fouls, which they devoted to him. These souls were the right of Wodin. It was the general belief, that he appeared in every battle, either to protect those who fought valiantly, or to mark out the happy victims he referved for himfelf; that thefe followed him to the regions of blifs, which were open to none but warriors. The people ran to death, and to martyrdom, to obtain this reward. This belief increased their natural propensity to war, till it

> CHRISTIANITY overthrew all the ideas refulting from fuch a fystem. It's missionaties endervoured to bring their profelytes to a fedentary life, that they might be fit to receive their instructions.

> grew to enthusiasim, and to a religious thirst for

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tions." They gave them a difgust for their roving BOOK life, by fuggesting to them other means of subfiftence. They were fo fortunate as to inspire them with a love of agriculture, and more especially of fishing. The great plenty of herrings, which then came in shoals to their coasts, afforded them an easy means of procuring food. When they had fet apart a fufficient quantity of these fish for their own use, in order to preserve st, they bartered the remainder for falt. This intercourfe was encouraged at it's rife by one common faith, new prospects, mutual wants, and great lecurry. Such a total revolution enfued, that, fince the conversion of the Danes and Norwegians, not a fingle instance is to be found in history of their expeditions and depredations

The new spirit, which seemed to animate Norway and Denmark, could not fail of extending their communication with the other nations of Europe. Unfortunately it was intercepted by the ascendant which the Hanse towns had acquired. Even when that great and singular consederacy fell into decay, Hamburgh still maintained the superiority it had obtained over all the subjects of the Danish dominions. They were beginning to break the' bands that had subjected them to this kind of monopoly, when they were induced to undertake the navigation to the East Indies by an

incident that deferves to be noticed.

A DUTCH factor, named Boschower, being sen't Denmark by his nation to conclude a 'treaty of commerce begins to with the king of Ceylon, so ingrasilated himself stary on a with that monarch, that he became chief of his India. council, his admiral, and was created prince of Mingone. Boschower, intoxicated with these honours, hastened to Europe, to make a parade of them before his countrymen. He took great offence at the coldness' with which those republi-

BOOK cans received the titled flave of an Afiatic court, and was fo highly provoked at it, that he went over to Christiern IV king of Denmark, and offered him his fervices, and the interest he had at Ceylon His\*proposals were accepted He stated in 1618, with fix ships, three of which belonged to the government, and three to the Company that had associated themselves to carry on a trade to India His death, which shappened in their passage, put an end to the hopes they had conceived The Danes met with a very bad reception at Ceylon, and their chief, Oxe Giedde de Tommerup, saw no other resource than to carry them to Tanjour, a part of the conunent nearest to that stand

TANJOUR IS a fmall state, which is but a hun dred miles in it's greatest length, and eighty in it's greatest breadth. It is of all that coast the province that bears the greatest quartity of not This natural wealth, added to a variety of uleful manufactures, and a great plenty of roots for dying, makes the public revenue amount to near five millions of livres . It's ifertility is owen to it's being watered by the Caveri, a river which comes down from the mountains of Gate At upwards of four hundred miles from the head, it divides into two streams. At the entrance of Tanjour, the eastern branch takes the name of Coleroon The other retains the name of Caveri, and fubdivides again into four branches, which all flow within the kingdom, and preferve it from that terrible drought which burns up the rest of Coromandel for the greatest part of the year

This happy fituation made the Danes with to form a fettlement in Tanjour Their proposals met with a favourable reception They obtained

fruitful and populous territory; on which they BOOK built Tranquebar, and afterwards the fortress of Tranquebar, fufficient for the defence both of the road and the town. On their part, they enlaged to pay an annual homage of two thought fand pagodas, or fixteen thousand eight hundred.

CIRCUMSTANCES were favourable for establishing a large commerce. The Portuguese, who groaned under the oppression of a foreign yoke, made only seeble efforts to preserve their poffessions; the Spaniards sent no ships but to the Molucca and Philippine islands; and the Dutch were solely intent upon engrossing the spice trade. The English selt the effects of the disturbances their country laboured under, even in India. All these powers could not see this new rival without reverse, but note opposed in

regret, but none opposed it.

In consequence of this, the Danes, who began

with a capital of no more than \$53,263 livres 1, carried on rather a confiderable trade in all parts of India. Unfortunately the Dutch Company acquired sinch a superiority, as to exclude them from the markets where they had traded most advantageously; and, by a still greater missortune, the dissenting and, by a still greater missortune, the dissenting that the mother-country to attend to such remote concerns as those of this settle-timent. The Danes at Tranquebar insensibly fell into contempt, both with the natives, who value men only in proportion to their riches, and wish the rival nations, whose competition they could not sustain. They were discouraged by this insensity; and the Company gave up it's charter, and made over it's settlements to the govern-

BOOK ment, as an indemnification for the sums it had

Changes A NEW Company was formed in 1670 upon the Danish the ruins of the old one. Christiern V. gave trade has them, in ships and other effects, to the value of in India.

twenty-eight livres, ten fous \*; and the adventurers advanced feven hundred and thirty-two thousand fix hundred livres +. This second undertaking, which was entered upon without a fufficient fund, proved still more unsuccessful than the first. After a few voyages, the factory of Tranquebar was left to itself. Their small territory, and two vellels that they freighted for the merchants of that country, were the only means they had to fupply the inhabitants and their garrison. These resources sometimes failed them; and, to fave themselves from the effects of famine, they were reduced to mortgage three of the four bastions that constituted their fortress. They were scarce able to fit out a ship for Europe once in three years with a very moderate cargo. -

PITY feemed to be the only fentiment that for desperate a fituation could inspire. But the ever watchful jealously and suspicious avarice of other nations, fittred up an odious war against the Danes. The Raja of Tanjour, who had frequently intercepted their communication with his territory, attacked them in 1689, in the very town of Tranquebar, at the instigation of the Dutch. That prince had nearly taken the place after a fix months siege, when it was succoured and saved by the English. This event neither was, nor could be, attended with any important consequences. The Danish Company declined daily,

<sup>\* 12,951</sup>l. 38. 9d.

and was at length annihilated in 1730, but not BOOK till after it had become bankrupt.

Two years after this, a new Company was formed. The favours that were heaped upon it. to enable it to carry on a free and advantageous trade, plainly shew of what importance this commerce appeared to the government. The charter of the Company was fettled for forty years. Whatever belonged to the fitting out of their ships was 'exempted from all duties. The workmen they employed, whether natives or foreigners, were not ned down to the regulations of particular companies, which were a reftraint upon industry in Denmark, as well as in other countries of Europe. They were not obliged to tife flampt paper in their transactions. They had an absolute autildiction over the persons they employed; and the fentences paffed by the directors were not liable to be reverled, unless the punishment were capital. To remove even the appearance of conftraint, the fovereign renounced the right he had of interfering in the administration of their affairs. as being chief proprietor. He retained no influence in the choice of officers, whether civil or military, and only-referved to himfelf a power of confirming the office of governor of Tranquebar. He eyen bound himself to ratify all political conventions they might think proper to make with the Afiatic powers.

In return (for for many indulgences, government only required one per cent, upon all merchandize of India and Chma which flould be fent abroad, and two and a half per cent, upon all that flould be confumed at home.

The grant containing the above conditions was no fooner confirmed, than it became necessary to find adventurers. This was a difficult point; for the trade to India had hitherto proved fo unfuecessful.

BOOK cefsful, that men of property must have been totally averse from engaging their fortunes in it. A
new idea was suggested to alter this disposition.
The stock was distinguished into two different
kinds. The first, called freed, was that in which
all the effects the old Company had in Europe
and Asia were destined to be vested. The other
stock was called variable, because every year it
was regulated by the number, and the cargoes of
the ships that should be fitted out. Every proprietor might chuse whether, he would be concerned in these expeditions, the profits of which

ftock.

It feemed a difficult matter to flate the flare of expence that each of these funds was to bear. Every thing was settled with more ease than had been expected. It was agreed that the variable flock should only pay the necessary expences for the purchase, the fitting out, and the cargoes of the ships. All other charges were to be defrayed from the fixed stock, which, by way of compensation, was to take up ten per cent. upon all India goods which should be sold in Europe, and five per cent. upon all that should be sent out from Tranquebar.

were fettled at the close of every voyage. By this arrangement, the Company became permanent by the fixed, and annual by the variable

THE capital of the new Company amounted to 3,240,000 livres , divided into fixteen hundred

thares, of 2,025 livres + each.

With these funds, which were always in circulation, the proprietors, during the forty years of their charter, fitted out eight hundred ships. The expence of these vessels in money rose to \$7,333,637 livres to solst, and in merchandise,

<sup>\* 135,000</sup>l. + 841 75 6d. 1 3,618,001, 115, 3d.

to 10,580,09a livres (a), which in the whole made n 0 0 K 97,913,731 livres 10 lols (b). The returns were

fold for 188,939,673 livres (c). Of this Denmark only confumed 35,450,262 livres (d); therefore the value of 153,489,411 livres (e) of it was exported. Let us make a fresh division, and we shall find, that the annual sales have amounted to the sum of 4,723,491 livres 16 fols (f); that of this, the country has only confumed annually to the value of 886,250 livres 10 fols (g), and that foreign nations have carried off to the amount of 3,837,235 livres 10 fols (b).

The dividends were very irregular, during all the time that the chatter lafted. They would have been more confiderable, if part of the profits had not been confidently appropriated to the extension of the trade. By this prudent and confiderate conduct, the fortunate proprietors trebled their capitals. Their stock would have been increased with the additional sum of 2,000,000 of livres (i), if in 1754, the Danish ministry had not prevailed upon the directors to erect a statue to King Frederic V.

When I reflect upon these public monuments consecrated to a sovereign in his life time, his want of modesty always occurs to my mind. When a prince orders them himself, it seems as if he said to his people, 'I am a great man; I am a great king. It is impossible for me to present myself every day to your view, and to receive the splendid testimony of your admiration and affection. But here is my image. Get round, it, and satisfy yourselves. When I shall be

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(a) 40,8371. sz. (b) 4,079,8501. (c) 7,872,4861. 7s. 61. (f) 1,477,0941. 5z. (f) 6,373,3971 2z 6d. (f) 159,58121 3z 2d. (g) 36,9271. zz. 1d. (h) 159,8841. 16z. 3d. (h) 159,8841. 16z. 3d.
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BOOK' no more, you will conduct your child to the v. foot of my statue, and you will say to him:
Behold, my son, and consider him attentively.

This is the man who repulfed the enemies of

the state, who commanded it's armies in perfon; who paid the debts of his ancestors; who

fertilized our fields; who protected our farmers; who laid no reftraint upon our conscience; who

permitted us to live in happiness, freedom, and opulence : let his name for ever be bleft!'.

· WHAT infolent vanity is this, even if it be true! What impudence if it be not! But how few would there be of these monuments, had they only been erected to princes who deserved them? If all the others were taken down, how few would remain? If truth had dictated the inscriptions that are placed around them, what should we read? "To Nero, after he had affaffinated his mother, killed his wife, flain his preceptor, and " imbrued his hands in the blood of the most " worthy citizens," You shudder with horror. Alas! vile people, why am I not allowed to sub-flitute true inscriptions in the place of those with which you have decorated the monuments of your fovereigns. You would not read of the fame crimes; but you would read of others, and you would thudder again.

HERE I would write, as formerly, upon Pompey's column: " To Pompey, after he had maf-" facred three millions of men." There I would write—Base mortals, are you then afraid that your masters should blush for their wickedness? When you pay them fuch homage, how is it possible they should think that you are unhapp? How should they not imagine that they are the idols of your hearts, when, by your acclamations, you give your approbation to the services of the courtiers.

But the people will answer, "These monu-BOOK ments are not erected by us. We should never have thought of conferring the honour of a stratue on a tyrant who kept us plunged in mifery, and to whom our profound silence, when he passed through our city in person, so frequently announced the indignation we felt.

"It cannot be imagined that we hould have been the first to mad, after he had exhaufted us nearly of all our means of fubliftence, to throw away the few we had full remaining upon a caft."

Monarcus, if ye are good, ye may be affured of the statue which ye raise to yourselves. The nation, whose happiness you have created, will grant it to you a century after your death, when your actions shall have been tried at the tribunal of history. If ye are bad and vicious, you only perpetuate the memory of your wickedness and your vices. The fovereign, who is poffested of any degree of tlignity, will wait. He' who is possessed of true greatness of soul, would perhaps disdain a species of, incense indiscriminately bestowed in all ages upon vice and virtue While the infcription was engraving round his flatue, To THE MOST HIGH, MOST WORTHY, MOST PUISSANT, MOST GLORIous, most magnificent prince, &c he would recollect, that the same titles were engraved under the statue of a Tiberius, a Domitian, or a Caligula, and he would exclaim with a worthy Roman., " Spare me a homage that is too folipictoris. "'Let'me have no tainted honours. My temple " is in your hearts. There it is that my image is " beautiful, and that it will laft."

'And, indeed, with whatever folidity monuments may be confirteded, fooner or later the hand of Time firikes and overturns them. On the contrary, the edge of his feythe is blunted against the page of hishory It can have no effect Vol. II. BOOK upon the heart, or upon the memory of man His veneration is transmitted from age to age; and succeeding centuries are perpetually repeating it. Proud waters of the Seine, swell yourselver if ye dare: ye may fweep away our bridges, and even the statue of Henry: but his name will remain. It is before the image of this great king that the people, impressed with tender sentiments, and the stranger, stop. If the other monuments, sovereigns, that are confectated to you, are also vilited, do not mistake the intention. Men do not come to honour your persons; they come to admire the workmanship of the art: regretting, at the fame time, that fo fublime a talent which should devote itself to virtue, should be fo meanly profittuted to vice. At the foot of your statue, what can the citizen or the stranger think, when he fees himfelf furrounded by a fet of wretches whose aspect discovers their misery, and whose plaintive accents solicit a trifling assistance! Is it not, as if they faid to him; BEHOLD, AND RELIEVE THE DISTRESS WHICH THIS MAN OF BRONZE HAS BROUGHT UPON US? Erect flatues to the great men of your nation, and your's will be looked for among them. But in countries submitted to tyranny there is but one man and one statue. There, the bronze speaks, and the marble exclaims: PEOPLE, LEARN THAT I AM ALL, AND THAT YOU ARE NOTHING. Let me be excused for this digression. The fate of 1 writer would be too hard, if he were not sometimes allowed to give way to the fentiment that oppreffes him.

Prefent
Pare of the Company expired on
Pare of the 12th of April 1772, a new one was given
them, but only for twenty years. Some reftrants
were also laid upon the favours they had before
enjoyed.

Excepting the trade to China, which still con-BOOK tinues exclusive, the Indian seas are open to all the citizens, and to others who wish to share in their undertakings, But in order to be intitled to this liberty, it is necessary to 'employ no ships but what are built in one of the ports of the kingdom; to embark'upon each vellel to the value of thirteen thousand five hundred livres , at least, in merchandise of the national manufacture; to pay to the Company fixty-feven livres ten fols+ per last, or two per cent, of the value of the cargo upon it's going out, and eight per' cent, at it's Individuals are also allowed to trade from one part of India to another, by paying a duty of entrance of four per cent, on the productions of Alia, and two per cent. on those of Europe, in 'all the Danish settlements. If the court of Copen-'hagen, as there can be no doubt, have made these' arrangements only with a view of encouraging their factories, experience must have convinced

them of their miltake. "The Company was formerly exempts om the duties fettled upon all articles employed in the building and victualling of finps. They have been deprived of an exemption which was attended with too many inconveniencies. They receive, as an indefinity, fixty-feven livres ten fols \$ for each of the perfons composing the crews of their ships. On the other hand, they are obliged to export upon each of their vesselis dispatched to India to the value of thirteen rhousand five hundred livres and to the amount of eighteen thousand livres upon each of the ships detuned so China

\* 562l. 105. § 118 3d. + 21. 16., 3d |1 5621, 102

7501

BOOK THE customs fixed for the productions of Asia
v. which were consumed in Denmark, or sent to
other parts, and which were formerly different,
are at present equal. They all of them pay two
per cent. without any regard to the place of ther
destination. The government has also reserved
to itself the privilege of being the arbiter of the
customs, which the siks and coffees, destined for
the state, should be obliged to pay. This resurtion is intended to favour the interest of the
American islands, and of the national manusatures.

The king has given up the practice he had of placing annually, in the Company's trade, the fum of about one hundred thousand livres \*, from which he usually derived a benefit of twenty per cent. To indemnify him for this facrifice, when the Company fir out but one ship, they will add to his private cheft twenty-two thousand sive hundred livres †; when they send two, they will pay him thirty-fix thousand livres ‡; and forty-fix thousand livres \$ when they dispatch three, or a greater number.

UNDER the former administration, a proprietor, of one share was intitled to vote, at the general meetings. Three shares carried two votes, site, shares three, and so on in the 'same proportion to twelve votes, which number no proprietor could ever go beyond, whatever interest, he might have in the stocks of the Company. But the, votes of absentees or foreigners were admitted upon producing a power of attorney from them. The consequence of this practice was, that a sew merchants residing at Copenhagen, were the rulers of all the deliberations. 'This evil has been remedied, by reducing the number of votes any one proprietor

<sup>4,1661, 132, 4</sup>d.

<sup>† 9371. 108.</sup> § 1,8751,

may have, either for himself, or by proxy, to BOOK three,

Such are the 'new views which diffinguish the late' chatter from those that have preceded it. The example of the ministry has influenced the conduct of the proprietors, who have also made from the remarkable alterations in their administration.

THE diftinction established between the fixt and the variable stock reduced the Company to a precarious state, since the proprietors were at: liberty, after every voyage, to withdraw the latter, which served as the balis of the operations. To give this body a more folid constitution, these two stocks have been consounded. Hereaster, the proprietors will not have it in their power to claim any part of their capital, 'till the expiration of their charter. Those among them, who, for any possible reason, may with to lessen the constant practice every where else.

Ar the expiration of the last charter, the Company had a capital of 11,906,056 livres, divided into fixteen hundred shares, each of the value of about 7,425 livres. The price of the share was evidently too high in a country where the fortunes of individuals are inconsiderable. This inconvenience has been remedied, by dividing each share into three parts, so that there are at present four thousand eight hundred shares, the price of which, for greater security, has been only rated in the books at 2,250 livres the share and the fall of them, by increasing the circulation and the value.

The project of railing the Danish settlements in India to a greater degree of prosperity than

BOO he they had hitherto attained, has next been taken into confideration. In order to effect this, it has been regulated, that 2,250,000 hivres ', including their estimated value of 900,000 hivres 'f, should constantly be left there. The profits accruing from this stock are to remain during ten years, and to be applied to the increase of the capital, andro

dividends are to be made of them 'Till these latter times, the ships fitted out in Europe for China, used always to carry with them the sactors who were to make up the cargoes. I his judiciously been imagined, that agents residing among these celebrated people, would enter morn to the spirit of the nation, and would make their files and purchises with greater fiching and advantage. In this view, four sactors have been streed at Canton, to manage there the interests of the Company that his chosen them.

THE Danes had formerly a small settlementer the islands of Nicobar. The expense of it was trifling, but it yielded nothing, and therefore is

very prudently been given up

The Company had contracted the hibit of granting, upon mortgage, a credit of (everal yers to the purchafers. This indulgence frequently obliged them to borrow confiderable furns at Artiferdum, or at Copenhagen. A practice unknown to the rival nations has been violently opposed it would have been dangerous, perhaps, to give the entirely, but it has been restrained within such narrow bounds, that it can o longer create mistrust.

To these principles of commerce, much upenor to those that were followed before, the Company have added the advantages of a direction better regulated, more enlightened, and more closely superintended

<sup>\* 93 7501</sup> 

UNIVERSAL confidence has been the refult of B.O.O.K. these prudent combinations. Although the division of the contains the contains a sistence of the contains th

dend has rifen no higher than eight per cent. in 1774, and 1775, yet; there has been a profit of twenty-five and thirty per cent. upon the shares. Their price would in all probability have been still higher, if the internal peace of the society had not of late been for feandalously disturbed.

the trade of China. Among all those they had to choose, this was the one in which they had the least risk to run, and the greatest profit to expect. Without giving up this source of riches, other means of acquiring them, which had been

The coalt of Malabar, it is true, has not taken up much of the attention of the Company. Formerly, no more than fixty thousand weight of

too long neglected, have been purfued.

pepper were annually drawn from Colefchey and Calicut. These purchases have not had any confiderable increase, but there was reason to hope that affairs would wear a more promising aspect in Bengal.

"The Danes had but just made their appearance in the Indies, when they fixed themselves at Chinchurat, upon the borders of the Ganges. Their missfortunes drove them from this opulent region during more than a century! They came there again in 1755, with a desire of fixing themselves at Bankihasar, which had belonged to the Osteond Company. Commercial jealouty, which is be-

come the ruling passion of our times, frustrated' their designs, and they were reduced to the necessity of founding Frederic-Nagor in the neighBOOK tory and the customs; and this expence, though
inconsiderable, was still greater than the transactions would bear. The care that was taken, aftet
the renewal of the charter, to fend some money
to this too much neglected settlement, began to
give it some share of animation; but it soon sell
again to nothing. It's destruction is owen to it's
having been placed in a state of absolute depend-

ence upon Tranquebar.
Tuts first of the Danish colonies has an excelent tentitory, which, though only two leagues in circumserence, had formerly a population of thirty thousand persons. There were even tenthousand of these in the city itself., Rather a greater number were sound in a large village, filled with coarse manufactures. The remainder were usefully employed in some places of less consequence. These, with three hundred workmen, factors, merchants, or soldiers, were all the Europeans fixed in the settlement. It's revenue amounted to 100,000 livres, and was sufficient for it's expences.

In process of time, confusion took place in the colony, which yielded less, and cost twice as much. The adventurers went away, the manufactures alonguished, the purchases were diminished, and a very scanty profit only was obtained upon those that were ordered at distant periods. Impossible as it was to make any advances to the workmen, it was necessary to pay for the merchandize five and-twenty or thirty per cent. dearer than if the customs of the country had been compiled with.

SINCE the year 1772, the aspect of Tranquebar has been changed. A small degree of liberty, some stock, a better administration, and an in-

crease of territory, combined with other cruses, BOOK have improved it's condition. But it's defliny, v. any more than that of the society which regulates

it, will never be brilliant.

The local polition of Denmark, the dispolitions of it's inhabitants, the degree of it's power relatively considered, every circumstance, in a word, is unfavourable to it's carrying on a great trade with India. Are it's provinces fufficiently rich to formish the sums necessary for large undertakings. or will foreigners trust their property with a fociety, fubject to the caprice, and exposed to the vexations of unlimited authority? It is in the nature of a despotic government to dissolve the ties which ought to unite nations; and when once this foring is destroyed, it can never be restored. It is mutual confidence which draws men together, and combines their interests, and arbitrary power is incompatible with this confidence, because it puts an end to all fecurity

The project formed in 1728, of transferring from Copenhagen to Altena the feat of the Afazite trade, might pollibly be attended with forme advantages, but could not remove any of the obfacles we have been mentioning. We may therefore venture to affirm, that England and Holland were guilty of a needlefs act of tyranny, when they opposed this domestic plan of a free and independ-

ent power

Can the man who has any concern for mankind, and who is not possessed of the narrow soul of a monk, to whom the circuit of his cloustered prison is all, and the rest of the innerse is nothing; can such a one conceive any thing more absurd and more cruel than this infamous jealously of the great powers; this horrible abuse of their strength, in preventing feeble states from improving their condition? The individual who should think of

BOOK afting the same part in the midst of his country, acting the tame part in the midfle of his country, which they do among other nations, would be looked upon as the most execrable of malefactors. English, French, Dutch, Spaniards, and Germans, this is the honest motive for which you take up arms, and massacre to determine which of you shall retain the exclusive privilege of tyranny, and the monopoly of professity. Law owes that was easily a first product that the second of the secon privilege or tyranny, and the monopoly of pio-feerity. I am aware that you colour this atto-cous project with the pretence of providing for your own fecurity but how can you be credited, when it is evident that you fet ho bounds to your ambition; and that the more powerful you are, the more imperious you become? You are not fatisfied with requiring every thing that it is your own private interest to obtain, your pride foretimes prompts you to ask what it would be shametill to grant. You do not confider that a people cannot be degraded without fatal confequences. Their honour may lie dormant for a time; but fooner or later it will be rouzed, and they will avenge themselves: and as humiliation is the most offensive of all injuries, so it is that which is most

offenfive of all injuties, so it is that which is more feverely self, and most cruelly revenged.?

Establishment of the control of trade and government, and an India of that sound philosophy, which insensibly spread company over all Europe, met with invincible obstacles in fome 'monreclues. These improvements could not reach the court of Vienna, which was wholly intent upon projects of war and aggrandizement, by conquests. The English and Dutch, whose by conquetts. The English and Dutch, whose attention was engaged in preventing France from increasing her commerce, her fettlements, and her navy, excited enemies against her on the continent, and lavished immense sums upon the louse of Austria, which were employed against France; but, at the peace, the luxury of one crown refored. flored more riches to the other than it had taken BOOK from it by the war.

THE power of the house of Austria, which ought to be formidable from the extent of it's dominions, is confined by reason of it's situation; for most of it's provinces are distant from the sea, The foil of the country yields but a small quan-, try of wine, and few of the productions that are fo much valued by other nations It affords neither oil, filk, nor fine wool, which are in fo much repute This state had no pretensions to opulence, and knew not how to be frugal With the usual luxury and pomp of great courts, it gave no encouragement to industry and manufactures, which might have supplied the means of indulging that expensive taste. The contempt which it has always shewn for the sciences, prevented it's progress in every thing Artists will never be eminent in any country where they are not affifted by men of learning Sciences and arts must both languish, wherever a freedom of thinking is not allowed. The pride and intolerant spirit of the house of Austria kept her vast domains in a state of poverty, superstition, and a rude kind of luxury.

Even the Low Countries, formerly fo celebrated for their activity and indultry, retained nothing of their ancient splendour. The traveller, who went to Antwerp, beheld with aftensilment the runs of a city formerly so stourishing. He compared it's exchange with the superbeddieses of paganism, after the abolition of idolatry. It presented the same solition, the same majesty. The indigent and melancholy citizens were observed walking about it, as under Constantine, the rattered priests were seen roaming around their deferted temples, or sitting at the soor of the alpars where the hecatombs had been sacrificed, and telling

BOOK telling the people their fortunes for a small piece of copper Antwerp, which had been, for two centuries, the store house of the north, had not row a fingle thip in it's harbour Bruffels and Louvain, far from supplying other rations with their clothing, bought their own of the English That valuable article, the herring fiftery, had passed from Bruges to Holland Ghent, Cour trny, and fome other towns, found their linen and lace manufactures decrease daily provinces, placed between the three most enlight ened and most trading nations in Europe, hadror been able, with all their natural advantages, to support so powerful a competition After striving fothe time against oppression, against impediments multiplied by ignorance, and against the privileges which a rapacious neighbour extorted from the continual wants of government, they were totaly fallen to decay

PRINCE Eugene, as great in a political, as he was in a military capacity, with a mind fuperior to every prejudice, had been long in fearch of the means of enriching a power, the boundaries of which he had to greatly enlarged, when a propolal was made to h m of establishing an India Company at Offend The first contrivers of this scheme had very extensive views. They pretended that, if this undertaking could be accomplished, it would exeit a spirit of industry in all the states under the dominion of the house of Austria, would state the dominion of the house of Austria, would state the dominion of the house of Austria, would state the state of the supply that power with a navy, one part of which round he in the Netherlands, and the other at Fiume and Trieft; would refeue it from the kind of dependence it was still under for the subsidies from England and Holland, and render it form dable to the coasts of Turkey, and even to the city of Conftantinople

, The able minister, to whom this was addressed, BOOK was very fensible of the value of such overtures; he would not, however, be too precipitate. To accustom his own court and all Europe to this new establishment, he ordered that two ships should be fent out to India in 1717, with only his own paffports. Their voyage was so successful, that more were fent out the following years. Every expedition proved fortunate; and in 1722 the council of Vienna thought it was necessary to secure the property of the adventurers, who were mostly Flemings, by the most ample charter that ever had been granted. The only ftipulation made, was, that the Company should pay to government, till the end of the year 1724, three per cent. upon every thing exported or imported, and after that period fix per cent.

The rapacity of all governments is inconceivable. Throughout the whole course of, this history, we shall not find perhaps one single instance, in which the tax has not accompanied the undertaking; not one sovereign, who has not been defirous of securing to himself part of the harvest before it was gathered in, without perceiving that these premature exactions were the surest way of destroying it. From whence does this kind of delinium arise? Is it from ignorance, or from poverty? Or is there a secret separation of the interest peculiar to the government, from the general

interest of the state?

However this may be, the new Company, which had a capital of fix millions of florins, or 10,8co,coo hives \*, appeared with advantage in will the markets of India. They made two fettlements, that of Coblom between Madras and Sadraspatnam, on the coast of Coromandel; and that of Bankiba'ar, on the Ganges. They were

BOOK even in fearch of a place where their ships might touch for refreshments, and had turned their views upon Madagascar for that purpose. The Company were so fortunate as to be able to repose an intire confidence in their agents, who had shewn a degree of resolution sufficient to surmount every obstacle that jealousy had thrown in their way; and a share of understanding, which had extricated them from all the fnares that had been laid for them. This confidence was still increased by the richness of their returns, and the value of their shares, which brought in fifteen per cent. It is not to be supposed they would have been difappointed, had not their projects been opposed by political interests. To give a clear idea of thereafons of this policy, we must trace the subject from the beginning.

Caufes of the de Bruchion of the

WHEN Isabella had fent out ships to sacilitate the discovery of America, and which proceeded as far as the Philippine islands, Europe was funk Company in such a state of ignorance, that it was thought proper to prohibit all fubjects of Spain, who were not natives of Castile, from navigating to the East and West Indies. That part of the Low Countries which had not recovered it's liberty, having been ceded, in 1598, to the Infanta Isabella, on her marriage with the Archduke Albert, the new fovereigns were required to enter into a folemn' engagement, not to have any concern in this trade. When these provinces were again united to the monarchy in 1638, no alteration was made in this odious stipulation. The Flemings, justly offended at being abridged of the right, which all people are by nature intitled to, of trading wherever other nations are not legally possessed of an exclufive privilege, complained loudly of this impolition. They were seconded by their governor the cardinal Infant, who procured the permission

to trade to the East Indies . The act to ratify BOOK this grant was not yet iffued, when Portugal shook off the yoke under which it had so long been oppressed The sear of increasing the discontent of the Portuguese, whom the Spaniards wished rather to soothe, prevented the introduction of a new rival to the Portuguele in Alia, and protracted the conclusion of this important affair was not yet fettled, when it was refolved at Mun'fter, in 1648, that the subjects of the king of Spun should never extend their trade in India beyond what it was at that period This act ought not to have been less binding to the emperor than it was to the court of Madrid, fince he poffelles the Low Countries on the fame terms, and with the fame restrictions they were subject to when

under the dominion of Sprin Such were the arguments made use of by the English and the Dutch, in order to effect the suppredion of the new Company, the fuccess of which gave them great uneafiness. Those two allies, who by their maritime forces could have entirely destroyed Ostend and it's trade, were defirous of avoiding a dispute with a power which they themselve, had raited, and which they thought they stood in need of against the house of Bourbon So that, though they were determined not to fuffer the house of Austria to go to the source of their riches, they contented themfelves with making remonstrances on the violation of the most folemn engagements They were teconded by France, which was equally interested in this matter, and was also guarantee of the violated treaty

The empetor paid no regard to these representations. He was induced to persist in his undertaking by the obstinacy of his own disposition, by the ambitious prospects that had been suggested

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BOOK gested to him, and by the great privileges and indulgences granted by Spain to the merchants refiding in his dominions. That crown then entertained the hopes of obtaining the heiress of the house of Austria for Don Carlos, and thought no concessions too great for such an alliance. The union of those two courts, which had always been confidered as irreconcileable, alarmed all Europe. Every nation thought itself in danger. Numberless leagues were formed," and many treaties concluded, to endeavour to diffolve that connection, which was thought to be more dangerous than it

really was. All these attempts were ineffectual, 'till the council of Madrid, having no more treasures to lavish upon Germany, were convinced that they were pursuing a visionary interest. Austria was not surprised at the defection of her ally,

and seemed determined to affert her claims, and especially her commercial interests. Whether the

maritime powers were intimidated by this fleadsness, or whether, as was more probably the case, they only confulted the dictates of found policy, they determined to guarantee the pragmatic fanction in 1727. The court of Vienna acknowledge ed this important fervice, by facrificing the Oftend

Though the public acts take notice only of a fulpention for feven years, the proprietors plainly faw that their ruin was determined upon, and that this stipulation was only inferted from respect to the imperial dignity. They had too high an opinion of the court of London and the states general, to supppose they would have secured the indivisibility of the Austrian dominions for a mere temporary advantage. This perfusiion determined them to think no more of Oftend, and to dispose of their flock some other way. They made several succesfive attempts to form an establishment at Ham?

burgh.

burgh, at Trieft, and in Tulcany; but all their BOOK endeavours proved abortive, either from the badness of the fituation, the efforts of powerful nations, or the integues of politics. These were the most fuccessful who turned their views towards Sweden.

THE fludy of nations is of all others the most swedch interesting. The observer delights to be ac-Last India ourinted with the particular stroke of character Revolution that diffinguishes each people, and to separate it on lathe from the numerous general characterifties that ac- ment of company it. In vain has this diffinguishing mark that nataken a tincture from events: in vain have na-tion fural or moral causes altered the shades of it. A penetrating eye traces it through all these disguifes, and perceives it notwithstanding these variations. The more extensive the field of obfervation is, the greater number of ages it prefents to be estimated, and of periods to investigate, so . much the more easy is it to determine the problem. Every age, and every period, gives, if we may be allowed the expression, it's own equation; and all these cannot be solved without discovering the truth, which was, as it were, wrapped up ui them.

Bu'r the defire of being acquainted with a nation, must increase in proportion to the part it has borne upon the theatte of the universe, and to the influence it has had in those majestic or terrible scenes that have agisted the globe. The cause and effects of this great tumult attract equally the attention of the learned and of the multitude; and it is seldom that we are tired of reslecting tupon them. Are the Swedes to be ranked among the people who have acquired a celebrated name? This is a point which my teaders will decide.

Vol. II. O Sw

BOOK Sweden was little known before it's ferocious v inhabitants had concurred with the other barba rians of the North in the subversion of the Roman empire After they had spread destruction with the violence and rapidity of a torrent, they re turned to their former obscurity. An unculu vated and defert region, without manners, with out policy, and without form of government, could scarce fix the attention of Europe, which was then but little enlightened, and which madno efforts to emerge from it's ignorance. If we may believe fome old chronicles, of doubtful authority, plunder and affaffinations were very frequent Sometimes one fingle chief ruled over the whole country, which at other times was divided among feveral mafters greedy of power, had recourse to the most shame ful or most violent methods to supplant each other, and revolutions were perpetually taking place. It was between fathers and children that these wars were more particularly inveterate Christianity, which was adopted in this country at the end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century, did not produce the least alteration in the condition of these people. The same and mosity, the same contests, and the same calamines were still experienced This dreadful state had been but very little improved, when fome unfortunate events placed Sweden under the dominion of the Danes, or in a kind of alliance which par took of flavery. This fhameful bondage was dif folved by Guffavus Vafa, who, in 1521, was chofen administrator of the state, and two years after, it's

> THE empire was then in a flate of anarchy The priests exercised the principal authority. and the treasury received annually no more than twenty four thousand marks of filver, although

monarch

ne public expences amounted to fixty thouland is o o k "he new king shewed himself worthy of the fi-; . V. nation to which he was raifed, by concentrating . his hands, powers that were diffully scattered, y rendering the crown hereditary in his family, y depriving the clergy of part of their usurpaions, by substituting Lutheranism to the estalished form of worship, and by prudently settling he nature and appropriation of the taxes: but his fovereign, having carried his fystem of refornation too far, precipitated his subjects into mifortunes which might, and ought to have been orefeen.

. Sweden, which, from the nature of it's proluctions, it's wants, and the extent of it's coafts, eemed destined for navigation, had nevertheless reglected it, fince it's inhabitants had been difjusted of piracy. The people of Lubeck traded with them for their provisions; and brought them falt, stuffs, and all the foreign merchandise they confumed. No thips were feen in their roads; nor were there any magazines in their towns, which did not belong to that republic .

" The haughty foul of Gustavus could not brook this dependence. He was determined to break the bands that cramped the industry of his lubjects; but he was too precipitate in his measures. He shut his harbours against the people of Lubeck, before he had built any ships, and before. he had got any merchants. From this period there was scarce any further intercourse between his fubjects and other nations. The whole king dorn fell into a state of languor, of which it would. be difficult to form any adequate idea. Some English and Dutch ships, which appeared there at diffant intervals, liad but imperfectly remedied this evil; when Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne. The same of the same of the same . 2.0

BOOK He fignalized the first years of his reign by veral uleful alterations Agriculture was enough raged, the mines were worked with greater Al companies were formed to trade to Perlia at the West Indies, the foundations of a new color were laid on the coast of North America Tr Swedish flag was displayed in all the Europer latitudes

> THIS new spirit was of short duration To fuccess of the great Gustavus in war, turned a tirely the genius of the nation to arms. All ma were stimulated with the defire of rendering the names illustrious, by following the traces of the hero, and of his disciples. The hope of plus der was united to the love of glory Every may was eager to conquer the enemy, and to enno himself with their spoils The national education was entirely military, and the houses seemed to be converted into camps The temples, the castles, and even the simplest dwelling place were adorned with numberless trophies Ore ge neration of foldiers was fucceeded by another o a fimilar, or ftill more daring nature. This enthu fialm had spread itself among the lower ranks o people, as among the highest Labours of a fu perior, or of a meaner kind were all equally de fpifed, and a Swede thought himfelf born only to conquer, and to regulate the definies of empire This martial fury had been carried beyord a bounds under Charles XII but it was exinguish ed after the tragical death of that extraordinar. man

> THE Swedes then became quite another people The exhausted fate of the Lingdom, the loss of former conquests, the elevation of Russia, every circumstance, in a word, tended to difgust the most consident of a fystem, which it was no longe possible to follow with any hopes of success, o

ven without the rifk of completing the ruin of BOO'K n edifice already shaken by repeated and violent vocks. Peace was the wish both of those who ad grown old in the service of the field, and of rose whose age had not yet called them to bear rms. The cry of the whole nation was for it's berty, which had been successively attacked with recaution, destroyed by Charles XI. and even the hadow of which had been taken away by the unortunate monarch, who had just descended into the grave without issue. All the orders of the state were assembled; and without abolishing the regalitate, they restored the republican form of govern-

hent, and even gave it's greater degree of extenfion than it had had before

This great revolution was not preceded by any, commotion. I nor followed by any diffurbance. All the changes were made upon mature deliberation. The first attention was paid to the most necessary professions, which till then had been unnoticed, or defpiled. The arts of convenience, or elegance, were foon introduced. The young nobility travelled into every part of Europe where they might gain any kind of knowledge. Those citizens, who had been for a long time abfent from their country while it remained in a flate of ruin and devastation, returned and brought back with them the various falents they had acquired Order, political reconomy; and the feveral branches of government, became subjects of inquiry. Whatever concerned the republic was maturely discussed in the general assemblies, and freely approved or censured in the public Some uleful publications upon the writings. abstruse sciences appeared, which were worthy of the notice of the most enlightened nations! A language, Intherto barbarous, was at length fixed B O O K to some grammatical rules, and acquired, in px cess of time, a degree of precision and elegate. The manners and morals of the people under went still more necessary and more fortunates terations. Politeness, affability, and a spirit communication succeeded to that stemper, and that roughness of character, what a continual state of warfare had left behind improvements of every kind were adopted, fix whatever part of the globe they came. It reigners, who introduced any new discovere or any branch of useful knowledge, met withe couragement, and it was at this savourable just ture that the agents of the Ostend Company mad their appearance.

The Swedes have a share in the India trade Manner in which they con duch ir

A PIOH merchant of Stock holm, named Henr Koning, approved of their schemes, and procure the approbation of the diet in 1731. An Indi: Company was established, with an exclusive pri vilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope The charter was only for fifteen years It was thought that this would be the best expedent either to afford an early opportunity of reculying any imperfections incident to new undertakings or to relieve the anxiety of many citizens with warmly opposed an enterprise, which the thought repugnant to the nature of the climate and the conflitution. In order, as much as poly fible, to unite the advantages of a free trade will those of a privileged affociation, it was agree that the flock should not be fixed, and that ead proprietor should be at liberty to withdraw h own at the end of every voyage As most of the adventurers were foreigners, chiefly Flemings it was thought equitable to fecure a profit to the nation, by obliging them to pay the governmen fifteen hundred filver dollars, or three thousant hree hundred and ninety livres " upon the cargo B O

of every fhip.

THIS tax did not prevent the Company from itting out five and twenty ships, during the time hat their charter lasted. Three of these were ent to Bengal, and two-and-twenty to China. One of these ships was wrecked with it's whole, cargo, and three of them perifhed without, any lading. Notwithstanding these missortunes, the proprietors, beside their capital, received eight. hundred seventeen and a half per cent. which, one year with another, amounted to fifty-four and a. half per cent, a profit infinitely great, though each of the proprietors was obliged to make and

to pay his own infurances out of it.

In 1746 the Company obtained a new charter, for twenty years. They dispatched successively: three veffels to Surat, and thirty-three to Canton, one of which was wrecked with all it's lading, near the place of it's destination. The profits of the proprietors arole to eight hundred feventy-one and one quarter per cent, or forty-three per cent every year. A remarkable event diftinguilhed this charter from the first. From the year 1753, the proprietors gave up the liberty they had always enjoyed, of withdrawing their capital at pleasure, and resolved to form themselves into a permanent body. The flate induced them . to confent to this new arrangement, by taking no. more than a duty of twenty per cent. upon all. the mercantile articles that should be consumed in. the kingdom, instead of seventy-five thousand livres + which it had received for feven years past upon every voyage. This facrifice had been made, with a delign to enable the Swedish Company to fustain the competition of that which had just

\* 1411. 55.

BOOK been established at Embden: but the public neceffities occasioned this indulgence to be retracted in 1765. Perfidy was carried to far, that even all the arrears were required to be paid

In 1766, the monopoly was renewed for twenty years more The Company lent the govern-ment 1,250,000 livres without interest, and twice that fum upon an interest of fix per cent. The first of these loans was to be successively paid off by retaining the 93,750 livres +, which the Com-pany had engaged to give for every hip they fitted out, and the second was to be returned at four stipulated periods. Before the first of January 1778, one-and-twenty vessels had been fent off, all for China, four of which were full expected The feventeen that had returned, had brought back with them twenty-two milhons fix hundred thousand pounds weight of tea, and some other articles of much less importance. It cannot be precifely afcertained what profits have accrued from these expeditions; but it may be prefumed that they were confiderable, fince the shares have gained as far as two and forty per cent It is however, generally known, that the dividend was twelve per cent. in 1770, and that it has been fix per cent, all the other years, and that the Company is charged with the infurances fince 1753

THE, Company have fixed the feat of their affairs at Gottenburg, the position of which afforded conveniencies for the fitting out of ships, and for the fale of goods, which were not to be met with in the other ports of the kingdom. A preference fo uleful has confiderably increased activity in it's road, and the cultivation of it's

territory.

<sup>\* 52,0831 6</sup>s 8d

Ar the origin of the Company, their flock va-BOOK ried from one voyage to another. It was faid to be rated at fix millions in 1753, and at five to only at the last convention. The best informed persons know nothing upon this important point except from mere conjecture, for the matter was recent land before the matter. never laid before the public. As the Swedes had at first much less concern in this stock than they have had fince, the government have thought proper to envelope it in mystery. In order to effect this, it was enacted, that any director who should divulge the names of the proprietors, or the fums they had subscribed, should be suspended, or even depoted, and should forfest for ever all the money he had ventured in this undertaking This spirit of mystery, inconceivable in a free country, continued five-and thirty years, Twelve of the proprietors were indeed to examine the accounts of the directors every four years: but these examiners were appointed by the directors Since the year 1767, the proprietors themfelves are the persons who choose these commisfaries, and who receive their reports at a general meeting This new arrangement would certainly \* have diminished corruption Secrecy in politics, is like lying, it may preferve a state for the moment, but must certainly ruin it in the end, Both! are only ferviceable to evil minded persons

THE produce of the fales has not always been equal. It has been more or less confiderable, according to the number and fixe of the flips employed in the trade, and according to the dearness of the articles at the place of their manufacture, or their fearcity in Europe. We may however affirm, that it has fearce ever been lover than

BOOK two millions of livres\*, and has never rifen higher than five millions . Tea has always yielded four-fifths of this produce.

In is with piaftres, bought at Cadiz, that theke affairs have been transacted. The little that has been brought from other parts does not deserve to be mentioned.

THE confumption in Sweden was at first rather

more confiderable than it has been fince, because originally there was no duty upon the Afiatic productions. Most of them have been fince subjected to a tax of twenty, or five-and-twenty per cent; some of them even, such as the silks, have been prohibited at times. These taxes have reduced the annual consumption of the kingdom to the value of three hundred thousand livres. All the reft is exported on paying to the state one-eighth per cent, on the produce of the file. Sweden, considering the little specie it has, sad the mediocrity of it's intrinsic resources, cannot admit of a higher degree of luxury; of which we shall soon be convinced.

Present flate of Sweden, Sweden, including the part of Finland and Lapland, under it's dominion, is of prodigious extent. It's coafts, which are in general difficult of access, are embarrassed with an infinite number of rocks, and many small islands, where some men, almost favages, live by fishing. The interior part of the country is very mountainous. Some plains, however, are to be found, the foil of which, though sandy, marshy, and full of ferminginous matter, is not barren, especially in the most fouthern provinces. To the north of the compire, want has taught the people, that they could live upon bread made of the bark of the birch-tree, with a sew roots and a little type. In

<sup>\*</sup> F3,3331, 62, 8d, 4 208,3331, 65, 8d, \$ 12,5001.

order to procure a nourishment more wholesome BOOK and more agreeable, they have endeavoured to so fow some of the high grounds, after having felled and burnt the trees that were upon them. The most prudent among them have given up this practice, after having observed, that trees and grass no longer grow upon a strony and meagre toil, exhausted by two or three plentiful harvests. Very large spaces of territory are covered with lakes of greater or less extent: These useless collections of water have been skilfully turned to advantage, in establishing, with the help of several rivers, canals, and sluices, an uninterrupted navigation from Stockholm to Gottenburg.

This fketch of the -natural state of Sweden, would induce us to suppose that this country was never much peopled, though it has fometimes · been called the manufattory of human kind. · Probably the numerous bands that came from thence, and which, under the fo-much-dreaded name of Goths and Vandals, ravaged and fubdued fo many regions of Europe, were only fwarms of Scythians and Sarmatians, who came thither in a constant succession by the north of Asia. Yet it would be, perhaps, a mistake to suppose, that this vail country was always as thinly peopled as it is now. According to all probability, three hun-dred years ago, this country had more inhabitants than it has at prefent, though at that time they professed the catholic religion, which enjoins the monastic, life and the celibacy of the clergy. The account taken in 1751 did not compute the number of fouls at more than two millions, two hundred and twenty-nine thousand, fix hundred and fixty-one. In 1769 this number was increafed by three hundred and forty-three thoufand. It is generally supposed, that since this period, the population, only the thirteenth part of which

BOOK which dwells in the towns, has not increased, bu

V. has rather diminished; and this calamity is to be attributed to misery, and to the prevalence of epidemic diseases.

THE number of inhabitants would be greater in Sweden if it were not continually deferted by the natives, who frequently never return. There are men in all nations, who, either from motives of curiofity, or from a natural restlessness, and without any determinate object, are fond of going from one country to another; but this is only the malady of a few individuals, and cannot be considered (as the general cause of a constant emigration. There is a natural propensity in all men to love their own country, which is rather to be accounted for from moral, than from natural principles. An inherent fondness for society, the ties of blood and of friendship, an acquaintance with the climate and language, that par-tiality we are so apt to contract for the place, the manners, and the way of life we are accustomed to; all these are, to a rational belog, so many motives of attachment to the land in which he was born and educated. They must be powerful inducements that can determine him to break all these ties at once, and to prefer another country, where all will appear extraordinary and new to him. In Sweden, where the whole power refides in the states composed of the several orders of the kingdom, even that of the pealants, every one thould naturally be more attached to his country; yet emigrations are very frequent, and there is no reason to be surprised at it.

The lands in cultivation were formerly divided into fourfcore thousand and fifty-two hemmans, or farms, which it was not permitted to parcel out. By an error fill more palpable, the laws had determined the number of perfoits that might

live upon each of these farms. When this num-BOOK ber was completed, the father of a family was \_\_\_\_v. obliged himself to expel from his house his children born after that period, however he might be in want of them to increase the mass of his productions. It had been expected that this regulation would occasion the clearing of the uncultivated lands, and produce new hemmans. But it should have been foreseen, that men, kept in such a state of oppression, would neither have the will nor the means of attending to new establishments; and that most of them would go into foreign countries, in fearch of that tranquillity of which their own fo unjustly deprived them. The eyes of the government were not opened 'till the year 1748. At this period it was at length understood, that the public required, that the labourers should have no greater extent of soil than they could conveniently work; and, the diet allowed them to divide their inheritance into as many portions as they should think proper. This new arrangement of things has already lessened the emigrations, and must, in process of time, bring on the improvement of agriculture.

This was, it is faid, in a tolerably flourishing state when Gustavus Vasa ascended the throne. This opinion is evidently an improbable one, since before that period the empire had only emerged from the horrors of anarchy, to pais under the yoke of foreign tyranny. It is at least a sea, that since that time, this sint of the arreshas been always in a languid state. The nation has continually been reduced to the necessity of drawing a great part of it's substitutes from it's neighbours, and sometimes to the amount of six or leven millions of livres. Many causes have

<sup>\*</sup>From 250,0001 to 291,5661, 138 4d

BOOK contributed to this misfortune. Among the most

a fmall number of men over too great a space. The distance at which they were from one another, obliged each of them separately to provide for almost all his own wants, and has prevented them all from seriously devoting themselves to any profession, and even to the cultivation of the

lands. THE infufficiency of the harvests threw the state into continual embarrassments.' The measures adopted at distant intervals to remove this evil, have not produced the defired effect. At length, in 1772, the government had the firmness to ftrike at the principal cause of it, by prohibiting the distilling of the corn. Unfortunately, the laws were not of fufficient force to counteract the passion these people had for this kind of spirit; and the state was obliged to relax the severity of them. It's condescension was not indeed carried fo far, as to authorize the citizens to prepare this liquor themselves, as they were used to do: but it engaged to furnish them with about three hundred thousand tons of grain for this purpose, instead of a million of tons that were before employed in it.

employed in it.

Since this epocha, Sweden has drawn much less corn from foreign markets. Some of her writers on agriculture have even pretended, that she might do without this affistance, if the nation were to forfake it's erroneous methods of proceeding in these matters. This opinion will not meet with many partians. Whether, it be from the defect of the soil, of climate, or of industry, it is certain, that the same number of men working the same number of days, and with the same means, do not bring forth in this region more

than a third part of the productions; obtained in BOO!

more fortunate countries.

THESE disadvantages of agriculture must be compensated by the mines, most of which belonged formerly to the priefts. From the hands of the clergy, they passed, in 1480, into those of the government. By a still more fortunate revolution they have fince become the property of individuals.

THERE is only the gold mine, discovered in 1738, that has remained with the state. As it yields only feven or eight hundred ducats \*; per ... annum; and that this fum is infussicient to defray ... the expences of working it, no native, or foreigner has yet offered to take it upon himfelf.

THE filver mine of Sala has been known fince the eleventh century. During the course of the fourteenth, it yielded twenty-four thousand marks: and in the fifteenth, no more than twenty-one . thousand two hundred and eighty. It fell more and more, 'till the beginning of the century in which we now live. At prefent it produces from feventeen or eighteen hundred marks every year. This is fifteen or fixteen times more than all the other mines taken together.

Arom, fulphur, cobalt, and vitriol are more abundant. These are, nothing, however, or fearcely any thing in comparison of the mines of copper, and especially of iron. From the year, 1754 to 1768, there were exported annually nine hundred and ninety-five thousand fix hundred and feven quintals of this last metal. It then became to be less in vogue, because Russia brought to market iron of the same quality twenty per cent. cheaper. The Swedes were bbliged to lower their price, and they must lower still more; in Between three and four hundred pounds on an averege.

BOOK order not to lofe entirely the most important branch of their trade. The most intelligent among them have taken the refolution of working their iron themselves, and of converting it into steel, wire, nails, cannon, anchors, and other materials of primary necessity to other nations, and the government has prudently encouraged this industry by gratifications. These favours have met with general approbation; while opinions have been divided with respect to those granted to other manufactures.

THERE was not, properly speaking, any manufacture in the kingdom at the memorable an which restored it to it's liberty. It was soondsvided by two parties; one who displayed an inordinate passion for all forts of manufactures, and lavished the most excessive encouragements upon them all, without diffinguishing those which might be useful, from those which might be prejudicial to the state. Great confusion arose, from which the nation emerged only to fall into an excess equally satal. The opposite party having prevailed, shewed as much aversion for the manufactures of necessity, as for those that were merely works of luxury, and deprived them both indifcriminately of all the privileges and favours that had been heaped upon them. Notwithstanding the prodigalities of the treasury, they had as yet acquired no confistence; and the suppression of these enormous grants occasioned their total de-The foreign artifts, and even those of the country, disappeared. The flattering prospect of promoting great industry vanished at once; and the nation found itself nearly in the same state as It was in before the year 1720

The fiftheries have not thated the fame fate is the arts. The only one that deferves our notice, in a political point of view, is the herring fifthery.

cannot be traced farther back than 1740. Be BOOK to that period, the herrings did not frequent the caffe of Sweden. They then came in floats to he coaft of Gottenburgh, which they have never ince forfaken. The nation confumes annually orty thousand barrels of this fish; and there are bne hundred and fixty thousand barrels exported; which, at the rate of thirteen livres fifteen sols each, brings in a revenue of 2,200,000 livres to the state.

THE Swedish nation was not yet possessed of . this advantage, when the government resolved that foreign navigators thould not be allowed to introduce into the ports of Sweden any other, than the commodities of their own country; and that they should not even be permitted to convey; these from one harbour of the kingdom to another. That famous edict, known by the name of placard des productions, restored navigation, which had long fince been annihilated by the calamities of war. A flag, which had been hitherto unknown, was now displayed on all the feas. The feamen foon acquired skill and experience. Some able politicians were even of opinion that their progress was growing too considerable for a depopulated country. They thought it would be more adviseable to confine themselves to the exportation of their own produce, and the importation of fuch foreign commodities as they wanted, and totally to lay afide the mere freighting trade. This fuftern was warmly opposed. Some able men were of opinion that, far from restraining this branch of industry, it ought to be encouraged, by abolishing every regulation that might tend to obstruct it. The exclusive right of passing the Sound was formerly appropriated

BOOK to a few towns, diftinguished by the name a Staple: All the parts situated to the north a Stockholm and Abo, were obliged to fend is commodities to one of these stapes, and there to take in those of the Baltic, which they could have procurred cheaper at first hand. These odious distinctions, contrived in barbarous times, and tending to favour the monopoly of merchant, fill substitution to this day. The wifest speculators in political matters, wish to see them abolished, a more general-competition may produce greater

industry.

Ir we were to judge of the trade of Sweden by the number of thips it employs, we should think it very important. But when we consider, that this country fells nothing but tar, pitch, potalli, planks, fish, and coarse metals, we shall not be furprifed to find, that it's annual exports do not exceed 15,000,000 livres\*. The returns would still be less by one-fourth, if we were to be regulated by the accounts of the cuftoms. But it Ba known fact, that although they are only defrauded of five per cent. upon the exports, yet they are cheated of five-and-twenty per cent on the imports. Admitting this, there would be an almost complete balance between what was fold and what was bought; and the kingdom would neither gain nor lose by it's outward connections. Persons extremely well versed in these matters, pretend even that the balance is to the difadvantage of the state, and that it has only filled up the deficiency which this circumstance must have occasioned in it's specie, by the help of the subfidies that have been granted by foreign powers. It behoves the nation to redouble all it's efforts to extricate itself from so disagreeable a situation Let us examine whether the troops are upon a BOOK better fooung

Before the reign of Gustavus Vasa, every Swede was a foldier Upon an emergency of the state, the husbandman left his plough, and took up his bow. The whole nation was inured to war by civil commotions, which were unfortu-nately continual Government had then but five hundred men in pay, but in 1542, this small corps was increased to fix thousand In order to be difencumbered from the maintenance of these forces, it was tuggested, that a portion of the domains of the crown should be assigned to them. This plan, opposed for a long time by private interests, was at length carried into execution Charles XI refumed the royal lands, which his predecessors, and especially queen Christina, hat lavished upon their favourites, and settled the most valuable part of his army upon them

This army confifts at present of a body or twelve thousand and twenty eight men, always affembled, formed indiferiminately of natives and foreigners, having a regular pay, and ferving to garrison all the fortresses of the kingdom There is another corps still more distinguished, and confidered by the people as the bulwark of the em pire, it is that which is known by the title o national troops. It confifts of thirty four thoufand two hundred and fixty fix men, who are affembled only one and twenty days in every year They have no pay . but they have received from government, under the name of Boffel, possissions sufficient for their sublistence From the common foldier to the general, every man has a dwelling of his own, and lands which he must cultivate The conveniences of the lodging, and the extent and value of the territory, are

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propor-

BOOK proportioned to the rank every man holds in the

THIS institution has received the encomium of all Europe. Those who have seen the effect of it upon the spot, have been less warm in the approbation of it. They have observed, the from one possessor to another, were always in the greatest disorder: that the character of the hu bandman was diametrically opposite to that of the military man: that the man who cultivated the land attached himself to it, from the care he b flowed upon it, and never quitted it withou regret; while the foldier, led by his profession from one province of the kingdom to another; from one country to a diffant region, ought a ways to hold himself in readiness to march chee fully at the first stroke of the drum, or the fir found of the trumpet: that the labours of the field grow languid, when they are not seconde by a numerous family; that it was consequent the duty of the farmer to marry; while the dwel ing under tents, and in camps, and the hazard of war, required an unmarried man, whose con rage was not to be enervated by any tender cor nection; who might live every where withou any local predilection, and might expose his lif every instant without regret : that the perfectio of military discipline was lost without constant exercise, while the cultivation of the land, ad mitting of no rest, and suffering no intermission except in that rigorous feason, which separate the armies, and hardened the soil, the same hand would be unfit to wield the fword, and to direct the plough: that the two professions require each of them a great degree of experience, and that the uniting of them in the same person, wa a fure method of having only indifferent farmers

and bad foldiers! that these lands, thus diffri-BOOK buted, must either become hereditary, or return, to the state; if they were made hereditary, there would foon be none left for other proprietors; and if they returned to the state, this was the means of reducing to beggary, from one moment to another, a multiplicity of children of both fexes, and of peopling the kingdom, at the end of five or fix campaigns, with unfortunate orphans: in a word, that the custom of the Bostel appeared to them so pernicious, that they did not helitate to rank it among the number of causes that rendered a fcarcity of corn fo frequent in Sweden.

THE fituation of this country has determined it. to create two very different naval corps: one confifting of a great number of gallies, and a few flat-bottomed boats, for the defence of it's coafts, full of shoals; the other composed of fourand-twenty thips of the line, and three-and-twenty frigates, for more distant latitudes. In 1772 they were both of them in a most ruinous condition, Since that period, these vessels, most of which are made of deal, because there is very little oak in the country, and which were almost falling to pieces with age, have been repaired. Sweden may possibly be in absolute want of all her gallies; but the must infallibly determine to lessen the number of her thips. Her powers will never allow her to arm even half of them!

The public revenue of this kingdom does not exceed fixteen or feventeen millions of livres. It is collected by a land-tax, the returns of the customs, by duties upon copper, iron, and flamped paper, by a poll-tax, and a free gift; and by some other articles less considerable.

BOOK This is very little for the wants of government and yet its debts must be paid from this trisling

THESE debts amounted to feven millions fis hundred thousand livres , when Charles M came to the crown That prince, who was a ecconomist in a manner becoming a sovereign paid them off He did more than this, for his recovered feveral of the domains conquered in Germany, and which had been mortgaged to powerful neighbours He likewise redeemed the crown jewels, upon which confiderable fums had been borrowed in Holland He fortified the frontier towns, fuccoured his allies, and ofter fitted out fquadrons to maintain his superiority on the Baltic The events subsequent to his death, once more plunged the nation into its former confusion This has since been always increasing, notwithstanding the subsidies bestowed by France, and other less considerable succours. In 1772, the state owed 90,450,000 livres t, which, at an interest of four and a half per cent brought to the natives, or foreigners, 4,070,250 livres ! At this period, there were not above two millions of heres & circulating in the kingdom Both public and private affires were trans acted with the bills of a bank belonging to the flate, and fecured by the three first orders of the republic. This establishment has had it's cenfors and it's panegyrifts, and it is a problem not )"! reichted, whether it has been useful or detrimertal to the nation

POVERTY IS not, however, the greatest cal under which Sweden laboured, the was threat ened with calamities of a more dangerous nature. The spirit of discord exerted a general fermen

<sup>\* 312 5001</sup> I 169 5931 158

longer for the public fervice that places had been

Hatred and revenge were the principal causes of BOOK events. Every man considered the state as the viprey of his ambition or his avarice. It was no

created: it was for the private emolument of those who filled them. Virtue and talents were rather an obfacle to fortune, than a means of elevation. The national assemblies displayed nothing but acts of disgrace or violence. Crimes were unpunished, and were openly committed. The court, the fenate, and all the orders of the republic, were filled with general distrust. All men were bentupon each other's destruction, with inveterate

filled with general distrust. All men were bent upon each other's destruction, with inveterate fury. When quick and ready means were wanting, they were sought for at a distance; and men were not assamed to conspire with foreign powers against their own country.

These evils had their source in the nature of the constitution settled in 1720. To a disgussian

despotism, had been substituted a system of liberty ill arranged; The powers 'destined to balance and restrain each other, were neither clearly explained, nor prudently distributed. Accordingly, they began to 'class with each other fix years after they had been established. Nothing could possibly prevent this. It was a continual struggle between the head of the state, who was incessantly endeavouring to acquire insuence by the making of laws, and the jealousy of the nation to preserve the executive power of them. The different orders of the republic disputed with the same investeracy, concerning the extent of their respective privileges.

THESE conteits, in which one party or the other alternately triumphed or were defeated, occasioned great inflability in the public resolutions. What had been decreed in one diet, was cancelled in another, to be re-established anew, and

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BOO kand to be again abolished. In this tumult of the misunderstood, or betrayed. The happiness of the citizens was more and more diffurbed; and

infected with.

both parties at the same time.

THE unhappy fituation of a state, apparently free, kept up that flavish disposition, which der grades most of the European nations; they gloried in their chains, when they beheld the fulferings of a people who had shaken off their's

passions, the general good was either forgotten,

all the branches of administration bore the starp of ignorance, felf-interest, or anarchy. Their numerous evils were wrought up to their higher pitch, by a fystem of corruption, the most ignominious, perhaps, that any fet of men was ever

Two factions, into which all the others were resolved, divided the state. That of the Hats feemed intent upon restoring to Sweden it's former strength, by recovering those rich possessions which had been severed from it by the mistortunes of war. This faction had devoted itself to France, which might have fome interest in encouraging it's ambitious views. The faction of the Caps was a declared advocate for tranquility. It's moderation had rendered it agreeable to Rulfia, which was defirous of meeting with no chstacles to her enterprises. These two courts, especially, that of Versailles, had opened their treasures to these base factions. The leaders of them appropriated to themselves the greatest part of these idle profusions; and purchased votes with the reft. These were always at a low price; but at the same time, they were scarce ever to be relied upon. Nothing was more common than for a member of the diet to fell his vote a fecond time. It was not even an uncommon circumflance, that he should make himself be paid by

No one would be convinced that the Swedes had BOOK gone from one extreme to another; that, to avoid the mischief of arbitrary power, they had fallen into the confusions of anarchy. The laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of

into the confusions of anarchy. The laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of individuals with those of society, and the pregatives it ought to enjoy for the common fasety of it's members

In this fatal crifis, it was expedient for the Bwedes to intrust the phantom of a king, of their own creation, with a power fusitioned to inquire into the abuses of the state, and find out proper remedies for it. This is the greatest act of fovereignty a people can exercise, and it is not losing their liberty, to commit it to the custody of a guardian in whom they conside, while they watch over the use he makes of the power delegated to him.

SUCH a resolution would have raised the Swedes to the greatest glory and happiness, and have excited a general opinion of their understanding and wisdom; whereas, by declining so necessary a measure, they have compelled the sovereign to feize upon the supreme authority. He now reigns upon his own terms; and his subjects have no other right less, but such as his moderation would not suffer him to deprive them of.

This event is too recent to allow us to en'ertain our readers with an account of it. Time alone can reveal what an historian ought to know, in order to speak of it with accuracy. How shall we discriminate those who have seconded the views of the sovereign from generous motives, from those who have acceded to them from abject principles? He himself undoubtedly knows them: but the heart of kings is ar impenetrable sanctuary, out of which the marks of effecting contempt seldom shew themselves during their

250 BOOK life time; and the key of which is but too frequently loft at their death. Besides, are not kings fubject, as we are, to the illusions of the passion, and do they know better how to distribute censure or praise? The opinions of their subjects are equally suspicious. Among the confused and contradictory voices that are heard at the same time, who shall distinguish the cry of truth from the deep and fecret murmur of calumny) or the myl-

terious referve of the former, from the clamour of the latter? We must wait till interest and flattery have ceased to explain themselves, and till filence is no longer imposed upon us from terror. Then we may be allowed to take up the

pen, without incurring the fuspicion of meanly paying our court to the man in power, or of infolently bidding defiance to his authority. we should be silent, posterity will speak. The monarch is fensible of this truth. Happy, if he can enjoy beforehand it's approbation! But woe to him, and woe to his people, if he should dif-

dain this tribunal ! LET us now inquire into the connections, formed in India by the king of Prussia. -

This prince, in his younger years, wifely pre-The king of Pruffia ferred the advantage of treasuring up knowledge, forms an to the usual pleasures of his age, and the luxu-East India Company rious idleness of courts. An'intercourse with the 2 Emb greatest men of his time, joined to the spirit of den. Character observation, infensibly ripened his genius, which of that was naturally active and eager for improvement. Prince. Fate of his eftablishment, in.

Neither flattery nor opposition could ever divert him from the deep reflections he was engaged He formed the plan of his future conduct and reign in the early part of his life. It was foretold, on his accession to the crown, that his ministers would be no more than his secretaries; the managers of his finances no more than his clerks: clerks; and his generals no more than his aids de B O O K camp. Some fortunate circumftances afforded him an opportunity of displaying to the whole world the talents he had acquired in retirement. With a quickness peculiar to himself, Frederic, instantly discovering the plan it was his interest to pursue, attacked a power by which his ancestors had been kept in slavery. He obtained the victory in five engagements against that power, deprived it of it's best provinces, and concluded a peace with the same wisdom that he had begun the war.

Though his wars were at an end, yet he did not remain inactive. He aspired to, gain the admiration of those very people whom he had fruck with terror. He collected all the arts about him, to give an additional luftre to his name. He reformed the abuses in the courts of judicature, and dictated himfelf the wifest laws. A plain and invariable order was established in every part of government. As he was convinced that the authority of a fovereign is a common benefit to all his subjects, a protection which all should equally partake of, he gave to every man the liberty of approaching his person, and of writing to him. Every instant of his life was devoted to the welfare of his people; his very amusements were made useful to them. His writings on history, morality, and politics, abounded with practical truths. Even his poetry was full of profound. and instructive ideas. He was considering of the means of enriching his dominions, when fome fortunate event put him in possession of East Friefland in the year 1744.

EMBDEN, the capital of this little province, was reckoned, two centuries ago, one of the best ports in Europe. The English, compelled to abandon Antwerp, had made it the center of their

B O O K connections with the continent. The Dutch had long attempted, though in vain, to appropriate it to themselves, till it fo ftrongly excited their jealousy, that they even endeavoured to fill up the port. It was in every respect fit to become the studied of the studied country from the bulk of the Prussan forces might be attended with some inconveniencies; but Frederic expected that the terror of his name would keep the maritime powers in awe. In this persuafton, he established an East India Company at Embden in 1751.

The capital of this new society, divided into two thousand shares, was 3,956,000 livres \*, chiefly subscribed by the English and Dutch, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of their governments. They were allured by the unlimited freedom they were to enjoy, on paying three per cent, to the sovereign upon every sale they should make. The event did not answer their expectation; six ships, sent successively to China, brought to the owners no more than their bare capital, and a profit of half per cent, for each year. Another Company, formed soon after in the same place for Bengal, was still more unstructessful. They never attempted more than two expeditions; and the only return they had was a law-shirt, which probably will never be determined. The transactions of both these scientes were suspended upon the commencement of hostilities in 1756, but their final dissolution was not fettled till 1762.

This has been the only check the king of Pruffia's greatness has ever received. We know how difficult it is to judge of the merit of cotemporaries; because they are not at a sufficient diftance. Princes are of all men those we can least hope to be acquainted with. Fame feldom speaks BOOK of them without prejudice. We commonly judge of them upon the reports of servile flattery, or unjust envy. The clamours of the various interests and opinions, that are in perpetual agitation around them, confound or suspend the judgment

of the wifest men. YET, if we might be allowed to pronounce from a multitude of facts connected together, we should say of Frederic, that he had been able to extricate himfelf from the schemes of all Europe combined against him; that to the greatness and boldness of his enterprises, he joined the most impenetrable fecrecy in the execution of them: that he introduced a total change in the art of war, which, before his time, was thought to have attained it's highest degree of perfection; that he shewed a fortitude scarcely to be paralleled in history; that he turned his very mistakes to better advantage than others do their success: that all mankind were either loft in filent admiration of his actions, or could not fufficiently extell them; and that he reflected as much luftre upon his nation, as other nations reflect upon their fovereign.

This prince always prefents, a formidable afpect. The opinion he has given of his abilities; the indelible remembrance of his actions; an annual revenue of feventy millions, a treafure of more than two hundred; an army of an hundred and fourfcore thousand men: all these circumstances must secure his tranquility. Unfortunately it is not so beneficial to his subjects as it was formerly. He still leaves the management of the coin to the Jews, who have introduced the greatest consulion. He has done nothing for the relief of

to see a friend of the arts and of mankind invested BOOK with regal dignity, rejoiced perhaps at thy victories, though obtained at the expence of fo much blood; and they confidered thee as a model for

military kings.

Bur there is still a more glorious title; that of a patriot king. This is a title never given to those princes, who, making no diffinction between truth and error, justice and partiality, good and evil, confider the principles of morality merely as metaphyfical speculations, and imagine that human reason is swayed entirely by interest. If the love of glory were extinct in thy breast; if the powers of thy foul, exhausted by thy great exploits, had loft their force and energy; if the childish passions of old age had reduced thee to a level with the generality of kings; what would then become of thy glory? What, would become of those praises which fame, and the immortal testimony of literature and the arts, have bestowed upon thee? But let us hope that thy reign and thy life will not appear problematical in history. Let thine heart again be opened to those noble and virtuous fentiments that were the delight of thy younger days. Let the latter years of thy life be employed in promoting the felicity of thy people. Let succeeding generations experience the effects of that happiness thou shalt bestow upon the present. The power of Prussia is the work of thy genius; it has been formed, and it must be supported by thee. It must be adapted to the state, the glory of which thou hast raised.

LET those numberless treasures that are buried in thy coffers be again brought into circulation, and give new life to the flate: let thy private possessions, which a sudden change of fortune may deprive thee of, be hereafter only supported upon the balis of the national riches, which never can fail: NOOK fail: let thy subjects, bending under the intolev. rable yoke of a severe and arbitrary government, find in thee the affections of a parent, instead of the vexations of an oppressor: let exorbitant taxes upon individuals, and upon articles of confumption, no longer obstruct the advancement of agriculture and industry: let the inhabitants of the country, recovered from a state of slavery, and those of the towns, becoming perfectly free, pass their lives agreeably to their inclinations and respective powers. Thus shalt thou give stability to the empire which thy brillnant talents have extended, and rendered illustrious; thus shall thy name be inferted in the respectable, but small, list of patriot kings.

LET thy virtues carry thee still surther, and induce thee to procure the blessing of tranquility to the earth. Let the insteade of thy mediation, and the power of thine arms, compel all turbulent and restless nations to accept of peace. The universe is the country of a great man; it is the stage suited to the display of thy abilities: may'st thou become the benefactor of all mankind!

SUCH was the discourse I addressed to thee in the midst of that tranquillity in which thou dolfs faster thyself that thou should lead thine hondurable career: like the Eternal Being, if we may be allowed to fay so, to whom songs of praise are addressed from all regions of the earth, when a great event made thee resume thy thunder. A power, which never consulted any thing but it own regrandisement in it's motives for making peace or war; without any regard to the constitution of the Germanic body, or to the treaties that guarantee it; without respect to the rights of nations at d of families; and in contempt of the customary and general laws of inheritance: this power, I say, surmed pretensions, assembled troops,

appropriated to itself, in imagination, the spoils BOOK of princes too feeble to refift, and threatened the liberties of the empire Thou hast prevented these evils The old hon bath shaken his mone; he hath iffued roaning from the place of his tetrent, and his young rival has shuddered 'Till this instant, Frederic had shewn himself powerful The opportunity has offered of shewing himself just, and he hath seized it. Europe has resounded with prayers for the success of his exertions, for he was then neither an ambitious conqueror, nor n rapacious merchant, nor a political usurpar He had been admired, he now shall be blested I had written at the foot of his flatue THE MOST FORMIDABLE POWERS OF EUROIT WERE COM-BINED AGAINST HIM; AND THEY DISAPPLAR-PD BEFORE HIM I shall now engrave an infeription less pompous, but more instructive and more noble NATIONS. HE BROKE THE CHILL THAT WERL PRIPARING FOR YOU PRINCES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, HE WILL NOT ALWAYS LX IST -- LOOK TO YOUP SELVES

No greatness, no prosperity can exist in a mo Settlemarchy without the influence of the sovereign, ment of but it does not folely depend upon the monarch ards in the to do every thing that is calculated to procure the Ph ip happiness of his people. He sometimes meets pies with powerful obstacles in the prejudices, the ton of character, and the dispositions of his subjects the ton of character, and the dispositions of his subjects the ton of the to

Philippines

The Philippines, formerly known by the name of the Manillas, form an immenfe Archipelago to the East of Asia. They extend from the fixth to the twenty-fifth degree north, and have an unequal breadth, spreading from forty to two hundred

Vot II S leagues

B O O K leagues. Among the number of them, which is

v. prodigious, thriteen or fourteen are diftinguished more considerable than the rest.

These islands present to the observing eye, a terrible and majestic prospect. They are covered with bazalts, with lava, with scrize, with blacks glass, with melted iron, with grey and friable stones filled with the wrecks of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, with sulphur kept in a state of susion by the continual action of subterraneous fires, and with burning waters which communicate with hidden stames. All these great accidents of nature are the effect of extinguished volcanos, of some that are still burning, and of others that are forming in these deep cavities, where combustible materials are always in agitation. We may conjecture without presumption, that these countries which may be reckoned among the most ancient of the globe, are approaching nearer to their destruction than any others.

- THE ashes, with which these immense furnaces ' cover the furface of a deep foil for ages past; the flirring up of the ground incessantly renewed by earthquakes; the heats that are common to all the countries fituated under the torrid zone; the moisture, which is habitually kept up in these regions by the proximity of the ocean, by the height of the mountains, and by forests as old as the world: fuch are probably the causes of the almost incredible sertility of the Philippines. Most of the birds, quadrupeds, plants, fruits, and trees that are found in the rest of Asia, are also seen in this Archipelago, and almost every thing here is of a better quality.' Some' vegetables even are discovered here, which do not appear any where elie. If an intelligent naturalist were to go over these islands with the freedom and the assistance necessary, he would certainly enrich the sciences

with a variety of curious, useful, and interesting BOOK knowledge.

UNFORTUNATELY, the climate of the Philippines is not so agreeable as the soil is fertile.' Although the fea and land breezes may keep up, during fix months, a greater degree of temperature than might be expected from their fituation, yet throughout the rest of the year, the sky is all on fire with lightning, and the fields are delaged with continual rains. Nevertheless, the air is not unwholesome. The constitution indeed of foreigners is rather' weakened by a fuperabundant perspiration: but the natives of the country live to an advanced age, without being exposed to any infirmities except fuch as man is liable to every where elfe. 🕝

THE center of these mountainous islands is occupied by favages, who feem to be the oldest inhabitants. Whatever may be their origin, they are negroes, and have most of them woolly hair. They are not tall, but are strong and nervous. Sometimes a whole family forms itself into a little community; but most frequently each individual lives with his female companion alone. never quit their bows and arrows. Accustomed to the filence of the forests, they seem alarmed at the least noise. Their life is entirely the same as that of beafts. The fruits and roots they find in the woods are their only food; and, when they have exhausted one spot, they go and inhabit another All endeavours to reduce them to subjection have proved ineffectual, because nothing is more difficult than to subdue a nation wandering among places that are macceffible.

THE plains from which they have been driven. have been fuccessively inhabited by colonies from Malacca, Siam, Sumaira, Borneo, Macassar, the Moluccas, and Arabia. The manners, idiom, S 2 religion.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE 250

BOOK religion, and government of these strangers, evidently diffinguish their feveral origins.

MAGELLAY was the first European who disconiards and vered these islands. Upon some discontent, he

left Portugal, his native country, and entered into guese dif- the service of the Emperor Charles V. and passing policition the streights that now bear his name, he arrived ofthe Phi- at the Manillas in 1521 1 - from whence, after his

death, his heutenants repaired to the Moluccas, discovered ten or eleven years before by the Portuguese. This voyage would probably have been attended with remarkable confequences, had they not been prevented by the combination we are going to mention. In the fifteenth century, while the Portuguele were beginning to make voyages to the East-

Indies, and endeavouring to monopolize the trade of foices, and of manufactures which had been in constant request among civilized nations; the Spaniards, by the discovery of America, were securing greater treasures than imagination could

form any conception of. Though both nations were pursuing their respective views of aggrandizement in far distant regions, they might probably interfere with each other; and their mutual antipathy would have made fuch an event dangerous. To prevent this, the Pope fixed their respective claims in 1493, in consequence of that univerfal and ridiculous power which the Roman pontiffs had affumed for feveral centuries, and which the idolatrous ignorance of the two nations. equally superstitious, still kept up, that they might plead the excuse of religion for their avarice. He gave to Spain all the countries that should be

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

concerned agreed among themselves, at Torde-BOOK sillas, to remove the line of separation to the V. distance of three hundred and seventy leagues from the Cape de Verd islands. This, in the eyes of the most intelligent people, was a superfluous precaution. But, at that period, men were not fufficiently, acquainted with the theory of the earth, to know, that, as the navigators of one crown advanced to the west, and those of the other to the east, they must sooner or later, meet in the fame point. Magellan's expedition evinced this truth.

is truth.

The Court of Lifbon did not conceal the uncaliness they felt at this event. They were determined to run any risk, rather than suffer a rival, already too much favoured by fortune, to come and dispute with them the empire of the Asiatic feas. However, before they ventured to contend with the only power whole naval strength was then formidable, they thought it adviseable to try the method of negociation; and succeeded better in it than they expected. Charles V., who was frequently in want of money to carry on his too immense and too frequent undertakings, gave up irrevocably, in 1529, for the sum of 350,000 ducats, or 2,598,750 livres \*, all the pretenfions he might have upon the countries recognized under his name in the Indian ocean: he even extended the Portuguele line of separation to the Ladrone islands. This is at least the account. given by the Portuguele historians; for the Caftilian writers fay, that their monarch referred to himself the power of renewing the discussion of his rights, and of refuming them if the decision should be in his favour: but only after he had refunded the money he had received. " -1"

\* one seilliere 'm ti.

HOOK THE treaty of Saragoffa met with the fame fate

The bpa niards form fet tlements at the Phi l ppines Reafons that have prevented the fuccef of them

IN 1564, Philip II refuned the project of conquering the Manillas Spain was then too much weakened by her conquefts in America, to think of founding by force, a new empire at the extremity of the East Indies The mild methods of perfusion were for the first time adopted in her plan of aggrandizement. She charged several missionaries with the office of acquiring new fideling the perfusion of the plan of aggrandizement.

her expectations

The rien, upon the coasts, who were formerly idolaters or Mohammedans, and who were made subject to Spain by the Christian religion, were not entirely savages, as those of the inland parts. They had chiefs, laws, houses, and some imperfect arts. Several of them had some knowledge of agriculture. The property of the fields they had sown was confirmed to them, and the happiness they enjoyed made others desirous of acquiring positistions. The monks, commissioned to distribute them, referred for themselves the most extensive, best situated, and most fertile portions of this immense territory, and the government made a formal cession of these lands to them.

GREAT things were expected from these arrangements, imperfect even as they were Many causes have combined to prevent the success of them

In the first place, most of the missionaries, brought up in the ignorance and indolence of a clothered life, have not spurred on the Indians under their direction to labour, as much as they ought to have done the may even be said, that they have diverted them from it by employing them incessantly in religious ceremomes, meetings, and solemnities. A system, as repugnant to every kind of rational worship, as to found po-

licy, has left the lands diffributed to the fubjected B O O K people in a flate of annihilation. Even the lands of their blind guides, have been little or ill cultivated, and this, perhaps, because the government distributes 525,000 livres annually to these

monks THE conduct of the Spaniards has always encouraged this fatal inactivity The propenlity to idleness which these proud men had brought with them from their country, was still more confirmed by the permission which the Court granted them, of fending every year to America a ship laden with the productions and manufactures of Afia The treasures which were brought back by this immense vessel, made them consider the most creditable and leaft laborious occupations as difgraceful and insupportable. Their indolence luggested no other resource to keep up a voluptuous life Accordingly, when the misfortunes of war suspended for a year or two the fitting out of this galeon, most of these conquerors were plunged in the most dreadful milery. They be-came beggars, thieves, or assassing. The troops were participators in these enormities, and the tribunals of justice were ineffectual against so many crimes

THE Chinese naturally presented themselves to give to the arts, and to agriculture, that activity which the Inziness and the pride of the Spaniards denied them. The navigators of this celebrated nation frequented from time immemorial the Manillas, to obtain the productions natural to these shands. They continued to refort to them after they had submitted to a foreign yoke 3 Their numbers ancreased still more, when the riches of Mexico and Peru, which circulated there, gave

BOOK room for more extensive speculations A great number of artiffs, and a ftill greater number of cultivators, who were too numerous in this flourifting empire, were from brought there by their finps. These laborious, economical, and intelligent men, offered to clear the lands, to establish manufactures, and to fet on foot every species of industry, upon condition that the property of some parts of an immense territory, which had no owner, should be given to them, and that the tributes exacted from them should be moderate This was an infallible method of establishing, at the extremity of Afia, a flourishing colony, without loss of men, and without any pecuniary facri-Unfortunately for the Philippines, the Spaniards have not been fufficiently fensible of this truth, nevertheless, the little good that has been do to in these islands has been the work of thefe Chinefe

Prefent flate of the Philip pires

SPAIN has submitted to it's dominion in this Archipelago fome parts of nine large islands That of Luconia, which is the most considerable, is five and twenty leagues in length, and thirty or forty in breadth The Spaniards land there at a great circular bay, formed by two capes, at the distance of two leagues from each other In this fhort space, we meet with the small island of Marivelles, which leaves two passages open, the eastern one is the narrowest, and the safest

To the fouth east of the bay stands the harbour of Cavite, which is in form of a horseshoe, and is defended by a small fort, and a garrison of three hundred men Twelve thips may ride here in fafety upon a flimy bottom. Here it is that the vellels necessary for the service of the colony are constructed '

In the time bay, at three leagues distance from Cavite, near the mouth of a havigable river, rifes the famous city of Manilia L'Egalpe', who took B Q Q K it from the Indians in 1571, judged it a proper place to become the center of a fatte that was to be founded, and fixed the feat of government and commerce there. Gomez Peres de las Marignas inclosed it with walls in 1590 and built the citadel of St James. The city has been fince enlarged and embellished. The river, which traverses it, descends from a lake that it when the city has been fine enlarged and embellished. The river, which traverses in circumference. It is formed by forty rivulets, upon each of which is settled a colony of Indian cultivators. It is from hence that the capital of the empire received it's sub-sistence. Unfortunitely it is situated between two volcanos which communicate with one another, and the cavities of which, glways in fermentation, seem to pave the way for it's ruin.

According to the calculation of 1752, throughout the whole Archipelago, there are no more than one million three hundred and fifty thouland Indians who have fubmitted to the Spanish yoke. Most of them are Christians, and from the age of fixteen to fifty, they all pay a poll-tax of four teals, or two livres fourteen fols. They have been distributed in twenty-two provinces, of which the island of Luconia alone, though not entirely subdued, contains twelve

The fettlement is subject to a governor, whose office continues eight years, but who is subordinate to the viceroy of Mexico. He commands the army, disposes of all civil and military employments, and may grant lands to the soldiers, and even erect them into sies. This power, though only balanced by the influence of the clergy, has been found so dangerous, that many expedients have been devised to check it's exorbitancy. The

BOOK most effectual of these expedients, is that, by
V. which it is decreed, that the conduct of a governor Mill be arraigned even after his death; and that, when a governor lives beyond the time of the expiration of his office, he shall not quit the place 'till his administration has been inquired into. Every individual is at liberty to complain; and, if he has suffered any wrong, he is to be indem-nified at the cost of the delinquent, who is likewife condemned to pay a fine to the fovereign; for having brought an odium upon him. At the time this wife inflitution was made, it was obferved with fuch rigour, that, when accusations were of importance against the governor, he was imprisoned. Several died in confinement; and others were taken out, only with a defign to inflict fevere punishments upon them. By degrees this formidable mode of proceeding has come to nothing. The chief of the colony gives his fuccessor enough to pay for his post; he having already received the same sum from his predecessor.

This collution has brought on a fettled fyftem of opprefilion. Arbitrary taxes have been levied; the public revenue has been leffened in passing through the hands that were appointed to collect it; a duty of seven per cent, which has been laid on all merchandise on it's coming in, has made trade degenerate into simugaling; the farmer has been compelled to lay up his crops in the magazines of the government; and some governors have carried their tyranny to fuch atrocious lengths, as to determine the quantity of corn that the fields were to produce, and to oblige the farmers to bring it in; and not only to wait for the payment as long a time, as their oppressive matters should think proper, but also to receive it in shadower manner it scould' be given to them.

For these two centuries past, some upright go-BOOK vernors have attempted to put an end to thefe enormities, but their endeavours have proved ineffectual, because the abuses were too inveterate to yield to a transient and subordinate authority. -Nothing less than the supreme power of the court of Madrid could have restrained this spirit of univerfal rapaciouíness, but this power has never exerted itself for such a purpose This shameful neglect is the true cause why the Philippine islands have never been in the least improved Their name would fearcely be known, were it not for their connections with Mexico

Those connections, which have sublisted ever fince the first settlement of the Spaniards in the East and West Indies, consist only in conveying the merchandise of India to America by the South Sea. None of the articles that compose these rich cargoes are the produce either of the foil or of the industry of those islands Their cinnamon is brought from Batavia The Chinese bring them filks, and the English or the French supply them with white linens and printed callicoes from Bengal and Coromandel From whatever port the goods have been brought, they must come in before the departure of the galeons If they should arrive later, they could not be disposed of, or must be fold at a loss to merchants, who are obliged to thut them up in warehouses, 'till they are forgotten The payments are made in cochineal and Mexican piastres, and partly in cownes, which are not current in Africa, but will pass every where on the banks of the Ganges

A SETTLEMENT, which has not a more folid Dangers to foundation, may perhaps be easily overthrown Philip-We do not therefore hefitate to foretel, that the pines are Philippines will one day, fooner or later, be exposed. taken from it's present possessors. A few ressec-

BOOK tions will be fufficient to give these conjectures
the conviction of evidence.

Some enlightened navigators have informed us, that the Spanish possessions, which in these distant regions had always been in a languid state, are become perceptibly more to fince the year 1758, when the Jesuits were banished from them. Befides that the immense domains of these missionaries are entirely fallen off from the fertility to which they had brought them; the lands of the Indians likewife whom they governed, which were the only ones tolerably cultivated, 'and where some useful arts were to be found, have funk again into that state of annihilation from whence they had been raised. It has even happened that these islanders, the least indolent perfons of the colony, have been exposed to the fame odium, well or ill founded, which purfued their guides.

A GREATER calamity affected this Archipelago the next year. All the Chinese, without exception, were banished from it; and this proscription occasioned a breach, which, in all probability, will never be closed. These people, whose ruling passion is avance, come every year to the Philippines with five-and-twenty, or thirty fmall veffels, and gave encouragement to fome labours to which . they alone could fix a price. These were not the only advantages. A number of their countrymen, settled in these islands, gave an habitual example of a life constantly spent in employment, Several of them even vifited the Indian colonies. and, by making them timely and cautious advances, inspired them with the defire, at the same, time that they furnished them with the means, of improving their fituation. It is to be regretted, that these means of prosperity have been annihilated, by the impossibility which the Spaniards perhaps

perhaps experienced, of containing a people for ook prone to infurrections.

Before these destructive events, the people

manifested a determined aversion for their tyrants.
Oppression had often made them break through
the bounds of obedience; and without the intervention of their pastors, the unavailing efforts of
degenerate proops would never have brought them

vention of their pattors, the unavaling efforts of degenerate troops would never have brought them again into subjection. Since the expulsion of these missionaries, who had most influence over them, has deprived the Spanish government of it's greatest strength, the Indians, who are less restrained, must be desirous of recovering their independence, and may have, perhaps, sufficient

energy to reassume their primitive rights.

To these dangers, which may be called do-

mestic, foreign perils are added, which are still more alarming. Some savages, issuings from the Malays illands, make habitual incursions on the coast of the Philippines, carrying destruction along with them, and taking off thousands of the Christians, whom they reduce to slavery. This piracy is seldom punished; because the Spaniards, divided into sour sactions, known by the name of Castillans, Galicians, Mountainers, and Biscayans, are entirely taken up with the hatred that torments them, and behold, with an undifferent eye, whatever is foreign to their diputes. The Malays have always been more and more emboldened by these divisions. Already

one they now have to contend with.

In 1762, the English got possession of the Phihippines with more facility than they had expected.

Although they were deprived of them by treaty,

have they driven the common enemy from feveral islands. They are every day incroaching upon them, and will foon become mafters of the possesion, unless they be presented by some European nation, more powerful, or more active than the HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK they may perhaps be still ambitious of seizing upon them again, when an opportunity shall offer. Other nations may equally aspire to this conquest, in order to make it the center of their empire in the feas and upon the continent of India. It is therefore probable that the Spaniards will be driven

from the Philippines. Some politicians think that this would not be an evil; an opinion that has long been entertained. The Philippines had but just opened a communication with America, when the Spaniards thought of giving them up, as being prejudicial to the interest of the mother-country. Philip II. and his fuccessors constantly rejected that propofal, which was often renewed. The city of Seville in 1731, and that of Cadiz in 1733, entertained more rational notions. Both these cities imagined, and it is rather furprifing that the idea did not occur fooner, that it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to have a direct concern with the trade of Alia, and that the pollellions they had in those parts should be made the center of their traffic. In tain was it urged, that as India affords filk and cottons superior to those of Europe. both in workmanship and colouring, and at a much cheaper price, the national manufactures could not support the competition, but would infallibly be mined. This objection might have it's weight with regard to forme nations; but appeared altogether frivolous, confidering the fituation of Spain.

Advantages that made of the Phihppines.

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The Spaniards, indeed, use none but foreign stuffs and linens, either for wearing-apparel or furniture. Those continual demands must necessarily increase the industry, the wealth, the population, and strength of their neighbours, who avail themselves of these advantages, to keep that nation which supplies them in a state of dependence.

They would certainly act with more wildom and BOOK dignity, were they to use the Indian manufactures.

They would be presented, both in point of ecconomy and elegance, and would lessen that competition which must; in the end, prove statal to Spain.

Spain.

The inconveniences, which usually attend new undertakings, are here previously obviated. The islands which Spain possesses he between Japan, China, Cochinchina, Siam, Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas, and are favourably situated for forming connections with those several kingdoms. Their distance from Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, would not prevent them from protecting effectually any factories it might be thought advantageous to establish on these industrious coasts. They would, moreover, be defended by immense seas from the ravages which so often affect the continent, and would be easily preserved from the temptation of interfering in the contests which prevail there.

This distance, however, would not prevent the Archipelago, from being sure of substitutes. No country in Asia abounds more in fruits, sago, cocoa-trees, and esculent plants of all kinds. Rice, which in the greater part of India must be watered by dint of labour twice a day, full it's grain is well formed, is more easily cultivated in the Philippines. When it is sown on the borders of rivers, or in plains which may be covered with water as pleasing, in yields two pleasing trops in a year, without requiring any attention, till the time of gathering it.

All the grains of Europe thrive in these islands.

All the grains of Europe thrive in these islands. They would furnish a sufficiency of them for the sallors, however numerous they might be, if the negligence and tyranny of the government had

B O C k not condemned most of the lands to a shameful

The number of cattle on these islands, is a matter of association and voyagers. Every religious community has mendows from five and-twenty to thirty leagues in extent, covered with forty, and fifty thousand oxen. Although they are not watched, they seldom get beyond the rivers and mountains which are the boundaries of these possible. Those which happen to go aftray, are ensity known again, by the mark of the different orders which is impressed on them with a hot iron, and they are always fruisfully reflored to their proper owners. Since the invasion of the English, and the raviges that were the confidence of it, the number of horned cattle is lessed, but it is still very considerable.

- Before the year 1744, none of our vegetables grew on the fertile foil of the Philippines At this period, Mahe de Villebague carried fome feeds there All these useful plants had succeeded, when eight months after, the cultivator, who was called away elfewhere by his commercial concerns, left his garden to another Frenchman fettled in these islands The Spaniards, who had not without jerloufy feen a foreigner then there what they ought to have done two centuries before, role up with fo much violence against his fuccessor, that in order to restore tranquility, the administration thought themselves obliged to order these wholesome roots to be pilled up I ortinnately, the Chinese, who are incessantly intent upon every thing that can contribute to the improvement of their fortine, had privately relea care of them. By degrees the prople g ev re-conciled to an innovation of in ufcful a 1 ind. and it is at prefent one of the chief refources of the colony

Such

governments? From whence can this antiputly

Such is then one of the effects of national BOOK hatred, that it inclines the natices rather to deprive themselves of a benefit, than to owe it to thrangers, and particularly to the French, who of all other nations are the most detested, notwithstanding the connection subsisting between the two

Ir we travel much, we shall not find any people fo mild, to affable, so frank, so polite, so lively, fo gallant as, the French They are formetimes too much fo, but is this fo great a fault? They are warmly and quickly interested, and fometimes for triling matters, while objects of more importance, either affect them little, or only excite their ridicule. This is their favourite weapon, and the most formidable for others as well as for themfelves They pass rapidly from pleasure to pain, and from pain to pleasure A Frenchman would find himself, farigued with a continuation of the Same happiness; he scarce ever experiences any deep fensations. He becomes insaturted with any thing, but he is neither whimfical, nor im patient, nor enthuliaftic. He cares very little · for religion, but he respects the priesthood, without having either efteem or reverence for it. He never troubles lumfelf about affairs of finte. unless it be to write his ballad, or his epigrant upon the ministry. , This levity is the origin of a species of equality, of which there are no traces any where elfe. It fometimes puts i man of the lowest rank, who has wit, upon a level with a nobleman , The French, are in fome fort, a people of women. for it is among the women particularly, that in the midft of inconfiftency. folly and exprice, we differn force great emotion that furprites us, we hear fome word that delights us, and we perceive forme a t of fireign VOL II. and

BOOK and fublimity. The French are endowed with v. exquilite fensibility, and with a very refined taste; this is confiltent with the fentiment of honour. the gleam of which diffuses itself over all ranks, and upon every object. The French are brave. They are rather indifferent than open, more libertine than volupiuous 'That focial disposition, which leads them to affemble in numerous companies, and to vifit feveral of thefe in a day, makes every thing grow old with them in an inflant; writings, politics, fathions; vices and virtues. Every week has it's hero, in good as well as bad actions. France is the country where it is most easy for a man to get himself talked of, and where it is most difficult for him to be talked of for any time. A Frenchman loves talents of all kinds; and they are supported in his country less by the rewards of government than by popular estimation. He honours genius. He is too ready in growing familiar; which is an inconvenience to himfelf, and to all persons who wish to conciliate respect. The Frenchman in your company is every thing you would wish him to be, but you must be upon your guard with him, for he improves upon every thing that others invent-Such are the features of which he carries the impression in a manner more or less marked, into those countries which he valits, rather to gratify his curiofity, than to add to his knowledge. Accordingly, he brings back with him nothing more than pretentions. He is better calculated for convertation than for friendship. He has a numerous fet of acquaintance, and yet he often dies in folitude. He is the being upon the face of the earth, who has most enjoyments, with the fewest regrets. As he does not attach himself strongly to any thing, he has soon forgotten what he had loft. He possesses, in a superior degree, the art of substitution, and is affisted in it by every BOOK thing about him. If we except that digesting yet has for his own country, and which it is not in his power to conceal, the young Frenchman, chearful, light, agreeable and trifling, appears to me the most annable man of his matton, and the Frenchman, matured by age, well informed, and prudent, who has preserved all the agreeable manners of his youth, is the most amrable, and the most essentially and produce the most countries.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, most people have an aversion to the French but they are princularly intolerable to the Spaniards, to those among them especially, who have not contrasted the vices, virtues, character, and manners peculiar to their country, with others of a totally opposite nature. This aversion seems even to have become more confirmed since the beginning of the present century. We should be tempted to suspect, that France is considered by the nation to which the shas given a king, with the same contempt, as a man of quality, who has married below his rank, shews for his wise's family. If this be the case, the prejudice will never be overcome, 'till the Bourbons shall have been naturalized in Spain, by a long succession of flourthing reigns.

LET us now return to the Philippines

INDEPENDENT of what ferves for the subsistence of the natives of the country, and of the conquerors, these stands afford a number of objects, fix for the trade carried on from one part of India to another, such as tobacco, rice, canes, wax, oils, cownes, ebony, dried fish; rassins, Japan wood but more especially those birds nests, dried stag's pizzles, and sea dogs, which are so eagerly sought after by all the people of Asia, and particularly by the Chinese

BOOK HITHERTO, fugar has been only cultivated for the confumption of the colony. The apprehenfion of having it's price a lutle raifed, his occafioned the exportation of it to be prohibited, with heavy penalities. This erroneous system cannot last, Permission will soon be obtained to furnish the greatest part of Asia, with a production, for which the soil of the Philippines is extremely favourable. Iron will be an additional object of the trade of these illands.

This metal abounds, and is of superior quality, throughout the whole Archipelago Nevertheles, inone of the mines had yet been opened, till about the year 1768, when Simon de Auda, fortunately thought of establishing storges. The success would have been more certain, if this active governor had not begun too many undertakings at once, if his projects had been more maturely considered, and if he had employed, to bring them to perfection, methods more conformable to the principles of humanity and justice.

THE excellent copper which is dispersed over feveral of the Philippine islands, is not less worthy of the attention of government. This metal is employed in India for the vessels used in public worthing, for ordinary utensits, for coins, which must be incessantly renewed, because the people are as eager to bury them, as not men are to conceal more precious treasures, under ground.

The Dutch draw from Japan, what is necessary to supply all these wants. They will necessarily lose this branch of their trade, if the Spaniards, awakened from their lethargy, should venture to dispute it with them

THE Philippines, have, above the other European colonies, the advantage of possessing gold. The Indians find some particles of it in the land IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

~ 11 277.

and filme of the rivers, which carry it along with BOOK their streams. The quantity they collect may amount to five or fix hundred shouland livres per annum. They deliver it in private to some foreign navigators, who in return supply their with merchandife, Formerly, it was fent into America, for Cavendish found to the value of 658,800 livres for it, upon the galleon that was failing towards Mexico. If Spain, foregoing it's ancient maxims, should encourage this species of industry, by leaving to those who should devote themselves to it the free use of the riches it would produce, would not that kingdom secure to itself an additional resource for finding to advantage in the indian seas?

In would not be reduced to the necessity of desiring that foreign navigators should come in quest of the productions of the silands. As the Philippines surnish plenty of inaterials for a well-established navy, it's subjects might frequential the markets, and add the benefit of freighting, to their other advantages?

to their other advantages?

This activity would pave the way for the communication between this and the mother-country. In the prefent confused state of the Philippines, it is not easy to foresee what they may one day furnish to Spain. It now procures from thence; alum, buffaloes hides, cassia, woods for dying, saltpeire, tortoile shell, and mother of peanly-which the Chinnse have hithered, houghn up, in order to sell it again to the Europeans at Canton, for three times the price they had given for it; acaca, which though brought from Mexico has not degenerated; and indigo, which the bounct of nature produces spantaneously. An enlightened man was desirous of attempting, in 1750; to the state of the

B O O K give this rich plant every improvement it might
veceive from cultivation. This novelty met with
a general and violent opposition. The Marquia
d Obando, who was governor at that period, was
obliged to take this citizen under his protection,
and affigned him an inclosed territory, where he
might carry on his operations with fafety. The
experiments were all extremely fuccessful, and
fince this event, the cultivation of this precious
dye has been attended to, though not with foffigient industry.

It an indolence peculiar to the Spaniards had not impeded their progress in every thing, they would have naturalized the spices, two centuries agd, upon this territory, so contiguous to the Moluccas. Perhaps they might have shared with the Dutch this source of wealth. It will be committing a new fault, to defer any longer an experiment, the greatest inconvenience of which is, that of it's heart widels.

being useles.

This government might also be prompted, by the excellent quality of the cotton cultivated in the Philippines, to establish there, with the affist ance of the inhabitants of the continent, beautiful and numerous manufactures. While they were waiting for the success, which, in new undertakings, however well planned, is always slow; the

ful and numerous manufactures. While they were waiting for the fuccefs, which, in new undertakings, however well planned, is always flow; the Spannards would purchafe in foreign markets the filks, calicoes, and other articles of the produce of Afia, fuitable to their country, and would obtain them at a lower price than their compenitors. All the nations in Europe employ the filver they get from America to trade with in India. Before this precious metal can reach the place of it's defination, it must have paid considerable duties, taken a prodigious compass, and have been expoded to great risks, whereas the Spannards, by fending it directly from America to the Philippines,

would fave duties, time, and infurance; fo that E O O K
while they furnished the same sum as the rival nations, they would in reality make their purchases

at a cheaper rate.

If the simple plan we have traced out should ever be carried into execution, the Spaniards, who are fettled in Alia, would necessarily, and for ever emerge from that indolent state of dissolution, in which they have languished for two centuries. The subdued people would bless a government that was become equitable; and those who are still contending for their independence, would submit, in multitudes, to the controul of wife: laws. The neighbouring nations, whom pride or injustice have driven from the ports frequented by their forefathers, would again direct their ships into harbours, where industry and harmony were united. The European merchants, who are oppressed with the fetters of monopoly upon the Indian seas, would carry their activity, their knowledge, and their flock, into an afylum of happiness and liberty. The colony, the revenues of which amount to 2,728,000 livres , would no longer cost Spain 'annually .527,500' livres +; , and would become one of the finest fettlements in the world.

This revolution can never be affected by an exclusive Company. For these two centuries past, fince the Europeans have frequented the seas of Asia, they have never been animated by a truly laudable spirit. In vain have society, morality, and politics, been improved amongst us; those distant countries have only been winnesses of our rapacionsness, our restlessing our tyranny. The mischief we have done to other parts of the world, has sometimes been compen-

BOOK fated by the knowledge we have imparted, and the wife inflitutions we have established but the Indians have full continued under their former darkness and despotsim, and we have taken no pains to refeue them from those dreadful calamities. Had the feveral governments directed the fleps of their free traders, at is probable that the love of glory would have been united to a passion for riches, and that some nations would have made attempts capable of rendering their names illustrious Such noble and difinterested intentions could never be purfued by any company of merchants, who, being confined by the narrow views of prefent profit, have never employed their thoughts about the happiness of the people with whom they traded, a circumstance, which, being miturally expected, hath never been imputed to them as a crime.

> How much would it redound to the honour of Spain, to shew a sensibility for the interests of mankind, and to endeavour to promote them! That nation now begins to shake off the setters of prejudice, which have kept it in a state of infancy, notwithstanding it's natural strength fubjects are not yet degraded and corrupted by the contagion of riches, from which they have been happily preferred by their own indolence, and by the rapaciousness of their government. These people must necessarily be inclined to what is good, they are capable of knowing it, and no doubt would practife it, having all the means in their power from the possessions their conquests have given them, in the richest countries of the Their ships, failing from their several ports, might either meet at the Canary illands, or separately proceed to their several destinations, and thus be the means of procuring happines to the remotest parts of Asia. They might return from

from India by the Cape of Good Hope; but BOOK would go thither by the South Sea, where the fale of their cargoes would greatly increase their captals. This advantage would secure to them a superiority over their competitors, who fail with false bills of lading, seldom carrying any things but filver. They would meet with a fresh supply of provisions up the river Plata; if they should be in want of them. Those who were able to wait longer, would only put into Chili, or even proceed to the island of Juan Fernandez.

. This delightful ifland, which takes lit's name from a Spaniard to whom it had been given, and who took a diflike to it after he had lived there fome confiderable, time, is fituated at 110 leagues distance from the continent of Chili. .. It's greatest length is but about five leagues, and it's breadth not quite two! In this fmall fpot; where the land is very mountainous and irregular, there is a clear fky, pure air, 'excellent water, and every vegetable that is deemed a specific ragainst the Scurvy. - It has appeared from experience; that all forts of European and American corn, fruit, and quadrupeds, will fucceed there extremely well. The coasts abound with fish; and, beside all these advantages, there is also a good harbour, where thips are sheltered from every wind but the north, and even that never blows fo strongly as to be productive of any danger,

These conveniences have induced all the pirates, who have infefted the coasts of Peru, sto put in at Juan Fernandez. Anton, who went to the South Seas with more important projects, found there a comfortable and safe asylum. The Spaniards, at length convinced that the precaution they had taken to destroy the cattle they had placed there was insufficient to keep off their enemies,

BOOK took the resolution, in 1750, to people it. Unfortunately, the new colony was placed on too love a spot, and of the hundred and seventy-one persons of every age and sex who composed it, five-and-thirty were swallowed up, six years after, by the surges of the ocean, which exceeded it's bounds Those who had escaped the waves, were fixed upon an eminence which commands the harbour; and for their security, a small fortification has been raised, defended by a garrison of sixty-six men. It now became necessary to think of supplying their wants. All the supplying their wants. All the supplying their wants. All the supplying their states a supplying the supplying and the government at length resolved, purposely, to send two ships there every year.

This post will become a useful settlement, if the court of Madrid will but attend to her own interest. It is needless to pursue this subject any further. The plan, which we have done nothing more than suggest, would evidently tend to promote the trade, the navigation, and the greatness of Spain. The connections that Russia keeps up with China by land, can never acquire the same degree of impostance.

Gereral idea of Tartary, degree of importance.

Bet ween these two empires, the greatness of which aftonishes the imagination, there is an immense space, known in the earliest times by the name of Scythia, and since by that of Tartary. This region, taken in it's full extent, is bounded on the west by the Caspian sea and Persia; on the south by Persia, Indostan, the kingdoms of Arracan and Ava, China and Corea; on the east by the Eastern ocean; and on the north by the Frozen ocean. One part of these vast deserts is subject to the Chinese empire; another is under the dominion of Russia; the third is independent, and

and is called Kharism, and Greater and Less Bu-BOOK charia. Gran Branch and Maria and A

THE inhabitants of these celebrated regions have always lived by hunting and fishing, and upon the milk of their flocks; and have ever had an equal aversion for living in cities, for a fedentary life, and for the toils of agriculture. Their origin and their customs, so far as we are acquainted with them, are equally ancient, for the former could never be traced on account of their fequestered and wandering way of life. They have lived in the fame manifer as their forefathers did; and, if we look back to the remotest antiquity, we shall find a very striking resemblance between the men of the earliest ages, and the Tartars of the prefent time,

THESE people have in general been followers of the great Lama, who resides at Putali, a town situated in a district, which partly belongs to Tartary, and partly to India. "This extensive region. where mountains rife above one another, is called Boutan by the inhabitants of Indostan, Tangut by the Tartars, Tsanli by the Chinese, Lass by the Indians beyond the Ganges, and Thibet by the Europeans

THEIR religion appears, from monuments of undoubted authority, to be of above three thoufand years standing, and is founded on the existence of a Supreme Being, and the fublimest principles of morality.

Ir has been generally imagined, that the followers of the Lama believe him ito be immortal: that; in order to maintain the deception, this divinity never appears but to a few favourites; that, when he receives the adoration of the people, it is always in a kind of tabernacle, where a dim light thews rather a faint reprefentation, than an rexact refemblange of that living god; that, when

B O O K he dies, another prieft is substituted in his stead,
as nearly of the same fize and figure as possible:
and that by means of these precautions, the delusion is kept up, even on the very spot where the
farce is acted, and much more, without doubt,
in the minds of believers who are further removed
from it

A SAGACIOUS philosopher has lately destroyed this prejudice. It as true, the great Lamas stident the same of the maintain that veneration they have inspired for their performand their mysteries, but they give audience to ambestadors, and admit princes who come to suste them. But it their performs be seldom to be seen, except on some important occasions, or on great sestivals, their picture is always in sull view, being hung up over the doors of the temple at Putali

The circumstance that has given rife to the sable of the immortality of the Lamas is, that it is a tenet of their faith, that the holy spirit, which has animated one of these pontifis, immediately supon his death passes into the body of him who is duly elected to, succeed him. This transmigration of the divine spirit is perfectly consonant to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which has always been the established system in those parts

The religion of Lama made confiderable progress in early times. It was adopted in a large part of the globe. It is professed all over Thibet and Mongalia, as almost universal in Greater and I cis Buchiria, and several provinces of Tartary, and has some followers in the langdom of Cassimere in India, and in Cl ina

This is the only form of worthin that can boath of fuch remote antiquity, without any mixture of other tystems. The religion of the Chinele has

her

been frequently, adulterated by the introduction of B O O K foreign deities and superstitions; which have been adapted to the taste of the lower class of people. The Jews have seen an end of their hierarchy, and their temple has been demolished. Alexander and Mohamméd used their sumost endeavours to extinguish the facred fire of the Gaurs. Tamerlane and the Moguls have in a great mea-

fure diminished the worshippers of the god Brama in India. But neither time, fortune, nor men, have ever been able to-shake the divine power of

the great Lama. .... This is an effect to be referved to the improvement of the human mind. . If the Tartars be enlightened, they will foon examine into the nature of their creed, they will dispute, and take up arms against each other: but superstition will arise half extinct out of the streams of blood which she has shed. In order not to lose all his influence, the priest will give up those points of his fyftem which are evidently incompatible with common fense; and he will defend the rest against the attacks of infidels. This revolution vill however be more flowly brought, about, than in those empires which have not a well-regulated eccleliaftical hierarchy, and where there is not a fupreme head, whose office at is to support the doctrines in their primitive state. The Lamas themselves confess that they are no gods; but they pretend to represent the divinity, and to have received a power from heaven to decide ulti--mately on whatever relates to public worship, Their theocracy extends as fully to temporal as to spiritual matters; but all civil matters, looked upon profane by them, they confider as inconfistent with their dignity, and therefore commit the care of government to persons whom they judge to be worthy of their considence. This circumstance has fuccessively

B O O K fuccessively occasioned the loss of several provinces
of their vast dominions, which have fallen a prey
to their governors The great Lama, who formerly was absolute master of all Thibet, now
possessive a small part of it

The religious opinions of the Tartars have never enervated their valour Hardened by the frofts of the North, and by the fatigues of a wandering life, inceffantly under arms, and perpetually engaged in battles, these people have never ceased being warlike. An ardent, wild, and restless disposition, has always disgusted them of their poor and uncultivated deferts. Ambition has always attracted their avidity towards the countries of Asia, celebrated for their opinience. People whom the arts and a soft climate have rendered effeminate, could not support the attacks of these hardy and serious men. The habit of going to war without pay, and without magazines, has carned their passion for plinder to the most inordinate excels and as they were incapable of secting their conquests by equitable laws and a strict policy, they have founded their power in all parts on terror and destruction.

"Tr was to check the inroads of these robbers into China, that, three hundred years before the Christian æra, that famous wall was built, which extends from the river Hoambo to the sea of Kamtschatka, which has a terrace rinning all along the top of it, and is slanked in different parts with large towers, after the ancient manner of fortifying. Such a monument shews that there must have been at that time a prodigious population in the empire but at the same time it seems to indicate that there was a want of prowess and military skill. If the Chinese had been men of courage, they would themselves have attacked the

roving tribes, or kept them in awe by well-difci-BOOK plined armies; if they had been fkilled in the art of war, they would have known that lines five hundred leagues in length, could not be defended in every part, and that, if they were broken but in one place, all the rest of the fortification would become useles.

Accordingly, the inroads of the Tartars continued till the thirteenth century. At that period, the empire was conquered by those barbarians, under the command of Gingis Khan. This foreign power was not destroyed till after eighty-nine years, when it fell into the hands of an indolent prince, who was governed by women, and was a start to his ministers.

When the Tartars were expelled from the conquests they had made, they did not adopt the laws and government of China When they repassed the great wall, they relapsed into barbarism, and lived in their deserts in as uncivilized a state as they had done before. They united, however, with the sew, who had continued in their roving way of life, and formed several hords, which insensibly became populous, and in process of time incorporated into that of the Manchews. Their union inspired them again with the project of invading China, which was torn with domestic diffensions.

The discontented parties were then so numerous, that they had no less than eight different armies, under the command of as many chiefs. In this confusion the Tartars, who had long ravaged the northern provinces of the empire, serzed upon the capital in 1644, and soon after upon the whole kingdom.

This invasion did not feem so much to subdue China, as to add to it's extent, by the accession of a great part of Tartaty. Soon after this, China BOOK was further enlarged by the fubmission of the W. Mogul Tarrars, celebrated for having founded most of the thrones in Afra, and particularly that of Industan.

> This extraordinary revolution was fearee completed, when the empire was threatened with a new enemy, that might prove a formidable one.

Conterti-Tartary.

THE Russians, who towards the latter end of the Ruffian and Cri., plains of Siberia, had conquered the uncultivated Ruffian and Cri., plains of Siberia, had penetrated through a numnefe in ber of deferts to the river Amour, which led them to the Eastern Sea, and as far as Selengy, which brought them on the confines of China, a country

highly extolled for it's riches.

THE Chinele were apprehensive that the incurfiens of the Ruffians inight in time give them fome diffurbance; and they erected fome forts to reftrain this neighbouring power, whose ambition began to excite their jealouty. Sharp contests then atofe between the two natiors concerning their boundaries. Skirmiflies were frequent be-tween the parties engaged in the purfaits of the chace, and an open war was daily expected. Very fortunately the plenipotentiaries of the two courts found means to bring about a reconciliation in -1689, the limits were fixed at the river Kerbechi, near the place of negociation, three hundred lengues from the great wall. This was the first treaty the Chinese had ever been concerned in since the foundation of their empire, and it brought on a new arrangement. They granted the Rullians the liberty of fending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been demed to foreigners with the utmost precaution. was easily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxims.

This liberty granted to the Russians did not BOOK infpire them with moderation. They persisted in their usurpations, and built, thirty leagues beyond Thereusian the stipulated limits, a city, which they called ansotain Albassinskoi or Jasca. The Chinese, having in leave to vain complained of this incroachment, at last der avan to termined to avenge themselves in 1715. As the China; Czar was engaged in a war on the Baltic, and other could not spare troops to defend the extremities of openings Tartary, the place was taken after a siege of three ing on the years.

The court of Petersburgh was prudent enough that tingnot to give way to a fruitles refentment. They
dom,
fent a minister to Pekin in 1719, with instructions
to renew the trade that had been lost amidst the
late disturbances. The negociation succeeded;
but the caravan of 1721 not being conducted
with more caution than the former, it was agreed,
that for the future no transactions should be carried
on between the two nations except upon the frontiers.

Before this new arrangement, a caravan went every year from Peterfburgh, traverfed immense deserts, and was met on the frontiers of China by some hundreds of soldiers, who escorted it to the capital of the empire. There, all who belonged to it were shut up in a caravansera, to wait till the merchants should offer them the resule of their warehouses. The traffic being thus completed, the caravan returned to Russia, and arrived at Petersburgh three years after it had set out from thence.

In the ordinary course of things, the indifferent merchandise brought by the caravan would have been of very hitle value; but as this trade was carried on for the court, and that the goods were always fold under the immediate inspection of the fovereign, commodities of the worst kind acquir-

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BOOKed a value. The admission to this kind of fair, V. was a privilege which the monarch feldom granted but to his favourites, All were defirous of approving themselves worthy of this distinction, and the way to fricceed was by over bidding each other without discretion, as each was ambitious that his name 'should appear upon the lift of the buyers. Notwithstanding this shameful emulation, what was put up to fale was fo trifling, that the produce, deducting the confumption of the court never 'amounted to 100,000 crowns \*.

Since the caravans have been discontinued. two large magazines have been established at Kiatcha, one Russian and the other Chinese, where all the articles, intended for exchange, are deposited. Commissaries appointed by the fivo nations fuperintend this trade, in which specie is very feldom 'used." If the Russians, 'who never give any, are obliged fometimes to receive gold, they are compelled to cede it to the crown upon terms which indemnify it for the taxes it would

have levied on the merchandile.

THE most considerable of the articles which the Chinese bring to this staple, is green tea, of an infinitely fuperior quality to that which Europe receives across the immense tract of sea. Accordingly the Russians are obliged to pay for it as much as twenty livres + per pound; although they feldom fell it again for more than fifteen or fixteen t. To indemnify them for this: loss, they never fail to raife the price of their furs: but this artifice turns out less to their advantage than to that of the government, which receives a tax of five-and-twenty per cent, upon every thing that is bought or fold. The customs at Kiatcha fometimes return to the flate as far as two millions \* 12,500l. + 16s. Ed. . . Trem-12s. Ed. to 13s. 4d.

of livres \*; in that case 'the trade' of Russia with BOOK China must amount to fix multions †.

IT was not so considerable, when Peter I. endeavoured to establish, through independent Tartary, a communication between Siberia and India

That great prince, whose mind was always engaged in some useful project, was desirous of opening that communication by means of the Sirth, which waters the Turkestan; and in 1710 he sent 2500 men in order to make himself master of that nver.

THERE was no fuch river to be found; it's waters had been turned off, and conveyed through feveral channels to the lake Atall. been done by the Usbeck Tartars, who had taken umbrage at the repeated observations they had feen making. So fingular an incident therefore determined the Russians to return to Astraçan. The government had-loft fight of this object, when towards the year 1738, the inhabitants of the two Bucharias, known by the name of Bucharfis, were themselves desirous of trading with Russia" To encourage this unexpected events the treasury gave up part of the enormous duties it generally requires. Orenbourg became the feat of this new trade. The Tartars bring there, from their own territories, those beautiful fleeces of lambs, that are cut out of their dam's belies, in order that the fkins may be clouded, white and fine. They also bring various kinds of merchandife which they have drawn from Indoftan, and especially a quantity of rough diamonds. They likewise bring about four hundred quintals & excellent rhubarb ! Each quintal cofts 500 hrest, and the college of trade fells it for nearly delie

58 :3,152,1,8 # y

,1 250,000l U 2 1 22 152.54.

connections of Russia with the Indies by the Caspian fea. This was, however, in the remotest ages, the track by which Europe and Alia communicated with each other. The regions bordering upon that immense lake, which are at prefent very much depopulated, extremely poor, and in a favage state, afford to intelligent minds undoubted proofs of former splendour. Coins of the ancient Kaliphs are daily discovered there. These monuments, with others equally authentic, would feem to favour the account of fome Indians having been shipwrecked on the coasts of the Elbe in the reign of Augustus, which has always been confidered as fabulous, notwithstanding the concurrent tellimony of cotemporary writers who related the fact. It has never been understood how any inhabitants of India could fail on the Germanic feas: but, was it more wonderful to fee an Indian trading in the northern countries, than to fee Roman make his way into India through Arabia? The Indians went into Persia, where they embarked on the Hircanian Sea, failed up the Wolga, penetrated into Permia by the Kama, and from thence might embark on the Northern Sea

ENTERPRISING men have appeared, and will for ever appear, in all ages. Man has within himfelf-a natural energy, that torments, him; and which is directed by tafte, caprice, or fastidiousness, to the most fingular attempts. He is curious, and defirous of feeing and of being informed. The thirst of knowledge is less universal, but it is' more irreliftible than that of gold. travels to a great distance in order to acquire , fomething to speak of, and to make himself be spoken of, in his own country. What the defire of fame produces in one, the impatience of mifery occalions

or on the Baltic.

occasions in another. It is imagined that fortune B O O Kis more easily acquired in distant regions, than V. near our own home. Men go a great way to obtain, without fatigue, what they could not otherwife get without affiduous labour, They travel through laziness; or in search of fools and dupes. There are some wretched beings who slatter themselves they shall escape their desting by running away from it. There are some intrepid men who court danger; others, without either ftrength of mind or virtue, cannot support a poverty which lowers them in fociety beneath their station or their birth. Ruin suddenly brought on, either by gaming, by diffipation, or by ill-concerted fchemes, reduces others to a state of indigence to · which they are strangers, and which they go to conceal at the poles, or under the equator. To these causes may be added others that are productive of constant emigrations; such as, the oppresfions of bad governments, want of religious toleration, and the frequency of difgraceful punishments, which drive the guilty man from a country where he would be obliged to walk with his eyes turned to the ground, to another, where he may boldly pass for a man of probity, and looks his equals in the face. No fooner had the English discovered Arch-

angel, about the middle of the fixteenth century, and fettled a commerce with 'Ruffia, than they formed the project of opening a way into Persia by the Wolga and the Caspian Sea, which would be much easier and shorter than that of the Portuguese, who were obliged to sail round Africa and part of Asia, to get into the Gulph of Persia. A further inducement to attempt this, was, that the northern parts of Persia, bordering upon the Caspian Sea, produce much richer commodities than the southern. The silks of Chirvan, Mazánderan.

B O O K and more especially Gilan, are the best in all the
Very and might be employed with advantage in
way manufactures. But the trade of the English
was not yet sufficiently confirmed, to encounter
the difficulties that must attend so, wast and so complicated an undertaking of the complete of the

Some years after, in duke of Holftein, who had established some filk manufactures in his dominions, was not deterred by these difficulties. He wanted to get the raw filk from Persia, and sen ambassadors thither, of whom there never has been any other account but that of their voyage.

When, the French were convinced of the influence of trade on the political balance of Europe, they also wished to procure Persian silks by
the way of Russia; but, their stat passion for
conquest made them; forget this project, as well
as many others that have been suggested by, men
of understanding, for the prosperity of that great
nation.

nation.

Peter I. guided by his own genjus, his own experience, and the informations of foreigners, could not but be fensible at last, that his subjects were the people, who ought to enrich themselves by the productions of Persia, and in process of time by those of India. Accordingly, in 1722, at the beginning of the commotions that have overturned the empire of the Sophis, that great prince seized upon the service regions bordering on the Caspian Sea. The heat of the climate, the dampness of the foil; and the millignancy of the air, destroyed the troops that were lest to defend those conquests. Russia, however, did not resolve to relinquish the provinces she had usurped, till she found, in the year 1736, that Kouli Khan, who had conquered the Turks, could compel her to restore them.

-- IN-THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

This Court of Petersburgh laid aside all thoughts B O O K of carrying on any commerce with that part of V the world, when an Englishman of the name of

of carrying on any commerce with that part of, the world, when an Englishman of the name of Elton laid a scheme, in: 1741, for putting his country, in possession of it. This enterprising man was in; the service of Russia, this proposal was, to convey the English woollen cloths, by way of the Wolga and the Caspian Sea, to Persia, to the north of Indostan, and to the greatest part of Tartary. In consequence of this traffic, he was to receive, in exchange, gold, and such commodities as the Armenians sold at an extravagant price, being masters of all the inland trade of Asia. This project was warmly adopted by the English Company in Muscovy, and savoured by the Russian ministry;

But the English adventurer had scarce begun to put it in execution, when Kouli Khan, who wanted bold and active men to second his ambition, sound means to entice him into his service, and by his affistance to make himself master of the Caspian Sea. The Court of Petersoungh, exasperated at this treachery, revoked, in 1746, all the privileges they had granted, but this was an ineffectual remedy, for so great an evil. The untimely death of the Persian tyrant was much more likely to bring matters into their former state.

THAT great revolution, which once more plunged the Sophy's dominions into a more complete anarchy than ever, reftored to the Ruflians the dominion over the Cafpian Sea. This was a necessary prelude to the opening of a trade with Persia and India, but was not alone sufficient to insure it's success, which met with almost insuperable obstacles from the Armenians. An active nation, accordioned to the Eastern manners, in possession of a large capital, extremely frugal

BOOK in their expences, who had already formed connections from time immemorial, entered into the minutest details, and embraced the most comprehensive speculations: such a nation was not easily - to be supplanted. Nor did the Court of Russia expect it; but, on the contrary, endeavoured to increase the number of these able merchants, anciently fettled at Astracan. It's views have not been crowned with fuccefs. It is however exerting itself to surmount the obstacles that have prevented it; and there is much to expect from the new kind of spirit that seems to animate the whole

Extent, government, poand revenues of Ruffia.

Thus empire, which, like all others, rose from fmall beginnings, is become, in process of time, pulation, the largest in the world. It's extent from east to west is two thousand two hundred leagues, and from fouth to north about eight hundred.

EXCEPTING the provinces conquered at the beginning of this century on the borders of the Baltic, which have preferved all the rights they before enjoyed; the Ukraine, which has been maintained in the pollellion of fome of it's right's; and the wandering tribes which it has been impollible to fubmit to any regular fystem of policy; all the other parts of the empire are subject to the

fame form of government. -

kingdom of Russia.

Under these arbitrary laws, a body of ignorant clergy live, who in former times were formidable, but who are become tractable fince they have been stripped of the possessions lavished upon them by superstition, and of the million of slaves who

uled to cultivate them. AFTER this, a body of nobility prefents themfelves, who are in pollellion of most of the lands, and keep in their dependence all the unfortunate men who cultivate them at the fweat of their brow.

AFTER thefe, comes the class of free men. Thefe B O O K are fo obscure, that Europe has for a long time been ignorant of their existence. At present we know that they are composed of some foreigners, mostly Germans, whom a restless spirit has determined, or necessity compelled, to feek a new country; of feveral happy and intelligent natives. whose chains have been gradually broken, and who profess the arts and commerce in the cities; of a small number of cultivators, who have entirely at their own disposal the poor inheritance that has been transmitted to them from their ancestors. The property of these sarmers becomes. by degrees, the prey of some rich man, who, by making them some interested advances, has indulged them in their laziness, or in their pro-

LASTLY, the lowest class of the state, if we may give them that name, are the flaves. At the beginning of the fixteenth century, there were few of them, and these, all prisoners of war. The lords were then in possessions of fiefs, and the peo-'ple cultivated lands that belonged to them. A new arrangement took place after the conquest of Cazan and Aftracan. These beautiful and fertile provinces were for powerful an attraction to the Russian peasants, that in order to put a stop to the emigration which was becoming general, the rigorous law which confined them all to their own glebe was published in 1556. At this fatal period they loft their property as well as their personal liberty. Their oppression has since been increased, and the human species has been more and more degraded.

This is undoubtedly the cause that has retarded or annihilated the population throughout the whole empire. In 1755, it did not contain more than eight million nine hundred and fixty-five 25 6 thousand

BOOK thousand three hundred and fixteen males. Suppoling the number of women equal to that of men, the whole amounted to seventeen million nine hundred and thirty-thouland fix hundred and thirty-two fouls. To this number were added, the twelve hundred thousand inhabitants of the provinces taken from Sweden in the beginning of the century; and it was then found that Russia had under it's dominion nineteen million one hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and thirty-two subjects, exclusive of the clergy, the nobility, and the army. If the wars with Prussian Poland, and Turkey, epidemical difeafes and rebellions have fince occasioned an evident diminution of the former population; the great acquisitions recently made in Lithuania; must have filled the deficiency caused by these

. In states, where the population is not numerous, the public revenue cannot be confiderable. It was scarce any, thing in money, when Peter L. ascended the throne. This prince, raised it to thirty-five millions \*. Anna brought, it up to fixty+, and Elizabeth to one hundred and twenty millions 1. It was carried still higher during the war with the Turks, but was reduced, at the peace, to the flandard it was at, when the troubles commenced. At this period, the treasury owed rather confiderable fums to the Genoese and Hollanders, which have fince been paid off. It owed to the nation near two hundred millions || in bank bills, for which it had mortgaged a quantity of copper distributed in the different coffers of the empire.

It is an opinion generally teceived, that the people are groaning under the weight of their

<sup>\* 1,458,3331.6</sup>s. 8d. \$ 5,000,0001.

taxes Even after the burden has been much al-BOOK leviated, it must still be more lightened, if the arts do not multiply, and especially, if agriculture be not remarkably improved

It would be in van to encourage it in the nothern provinces, nothing can three in those frozen deserts. The scattered inhabitants of this inhospitable climate will never be supplied with any kind of food and raiment, except what they can procure from birds, fish, and wild beasts, nor will they ever have any thing beside these to pay their taxes with

- FURTHER from the north, nature begins to wear a milder aspect, and the country is more populous, and more capable of vegetation. In most of the provinces, the labourer is in vant of nothing but more perfect itenfils, better methods, and more extensive means for cultivation , The progress of knowledge, gives reason to think that these deficiencies will be remedied Particular attention will be paid to the Ukraine, which is, perhaps, the most fruitful country in the known world It supplies Russia with most of her home confumption and articles of trade, and yet the does not receive the twentieth part of what it might be made to produce. The government will fucceed the more readily in encouraging rutal labours, as the Russians have an aversion for refiding in towns, and that they have iron at their disposal, which is the great and inestimable primum mobile of agriculture Nature has furnished it in plenty to most of the countries of the empire, and has given at to Siberia in as perfect a flate as even to Sweden

Beside these iron mines, there are also others which contain those precious metals that have excited the cupidity of all nations, and in all age.

The filter mines near Argun have long been known,

BOOK known; and others, both of filver and gold, have lately been difcovered in the country of the Bafkirs. It would be prudent in some nations to condemn these sources of wealth to oblivion; but this is not the case with Russia; where all the inland provinces are so poor, that they are scarcely acquainted with those signs that have been universally agreed upon to represent every article of com-

General trade of Ruffia. merce.

The trade which the Russians have opened with China, Persa, Turkey, and Poland, confists principally in surs, such as ermine, sables, white wolves, and black foxes strins, which all come from Siberia. Although the caprice of the consumers has raised the value of these precious surs beyond what could have been expected; yet their price is full increasing. These commercial connections should be extended to other objects.

THE exchanges of the empire with the flates of the Grand Signior, were reckoned nothing, or very inconfiderable. They will floon become of confequence, if the Russians know how to avail themselves of the right acquired by the last treaties, of passing from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. This privilege, which no other nation had yet obtained, and which none has acquired since, must give to the trade and navigation of the Russians a degree of extension, the boundaries of which it would be presumptuous to

fix.

But the greatest demand for the produce of the country will always be on the coasts of the Battue; since it is a fact, that the merchandise which constantly goes from the single port of Petersburgh, exceeds by a ninth part the quantity that is tent from the other two-and-forty cultoms of the empire. In 1773, the exports of Russia, in-

cluding the duty of five-and-twenty per cent. B O O K claimed by the fovereign, amounted to 106,401,735 V.

livres\*: the imports, including the fame duty, did not exceed 66,544,005 livres †. Confequently the apparent balance was 39,557,830 livres 1.

We have faid the apparent balance; for it is well known, by all perfons who are converfant in these matters, that the articles which come into the country, being generally of a smaller bulk than those which go out of it, 'must necessarily furnish more frequent opportunities of smuggling.

No country is so happily situated as Russia is sor extending it's commerce. Almost all it's rivers are navigable. Peter the Great improved this natural advantage by the assistance of art, and ordered canals to be cut to join those rivers together. The most important of them are sinished; others are not quite completed, and some are only planed. Such is the grand project of joining the Caspian Sea to the Euxine, by digging a canal

from the Tanais to the Wolga.

UNFORTUNATELY, these means, which render the circulation of all commodities so easy throughout the whole empire; and which open so ready a communication with all parts of the globe, are rendered useless by a multiplicity of, obstacles. The government has taken off part of the restraints which had arisen from defective infitiuations. Those which are owen to the manners will not so easily be got the better of.

Prize 1. decired that the valids, who were polleded of 2,500 livres 5, should have the right of being free, upon condition that they and their descendents should pay annually to the heirs of their former master, what he exacted from them before their freedom. These new citizens, with-

<sup>\* 4,433,406</sup>l. 22. 6d. . 1 1,648,242l. 18s. 4d.

<sup>+ 2,772,6661. 175. 6</sup>d. \$ 1041. 38. 4d.

BOOK out either education or principles, mostly became merchants; they brought with them into their recent fituation the vices they had contracted in servitude, and transmuted them to their posterity. The present generation still partakes of u'a origin.

The laws do not allow the foreign merchants to buy up the productions of the empire, in any other place except in the ports; and by the nature of the government, the natives have not, or cannot appear to have capitals confiderable enough to form large magazines. Traders are therefore under a necessity of employing some Russian agent to make the pirchases. This man, at the time of his undertaking the business, always requires half of the stipulated price; and the rest is to be paid on the delivery of the goods. These are seldom so good as they should be; and yet the purchaser does not often resus them, either because he has some orders to fulfil, or because he is apprehendive, not without reason, that he shall lose all the money he has advanced.

Is the foreigner should have any thing to sell, he cannot find purchasers unless he will allow them a feredit of a year, or a year and a 'half. At the time of payment, they usually ask for a fresh indulgence.' If it be refused them, they are condemned to an interest of eighteen per cent. The more the debt intreases, the more distant is the will or the possibility of fatisfying it.' Even the attociousness of the regulations contrived to prevent or to punish bankruptees, is savourable to the missing the mercy of the judges, or the corruption of the courtiers, does not screen them from the punishments decreed against 'them by' law. Powerful protections of the value and the way have necessary.

but after he has obtained these decrees, purchased B O O K at a very high price, he will only be more certain.

Iy disappointed in the expectation of recovering

any thing that was due to him.

These dishonest acts and depredations, have not prevented the trade of the empire from making a tolerable progress. This would have been more rapid, and more confiderable, if the physical and natural advantages had not been obstinately opposed by political or moral causes; if a ministry, seduced or corrupted, had not put a stop to competition, by savouring England to the prejudice of other nations. A better arrangement in this interesting part of administration would contribute much to the public felicity. Let us see what influence the army could have upon it.

fluence the army could have upon it.

When Peter I ascended the throne, the mili-Military tary in Russia consisted only of 40,000 Strelits, Russia, and ferocious men, who had no courage but against the people whom they oppressed, and against the sovereign, whom they deposed or murdered at pleasure. This great

blished an army, modelled after those of the other states in Europe.

SINCE the death of this reformer of the empire, the troops have been full more improved, and especially increased. They have been gradually raised to three hundred and seventy-five thousand

prince difbanded those seditious troops, and esta-

four hundred and fifty-feven men.

NOTWITHSTANDING the bravery, number, and discipline of it's troops, Russians, of all the powers, that which ought to be the most cautious of exposing the lives of it's subjects. The desire of increasing a territory already too extensive, should never tempt the Russians for from their own frontiers; or induce them to begin hostilities. Russia will never form a close and compact state,

BOOK or become an enlightened and flourishing nation,
v. unless it should renounce the rage of conquest, to apply folely to the arts of peace. None of it's neighbours can compel it to depart from this salutary fostem.

On the north fide, the empire is better guarded by the Frozen Sea, than it would be by squadrons and fortresses.

To the East, a single battalion and two field pieces would disperse all the hords of Tartars that should attempt to molest it.

Should Persia ever again become powerful enough to make any attempts against this empire, they would be rendered ineffectual by the Caspian Sea, and by those immense deferts which separate

that country from Ruffia.

To the South, feditions, ignorance, want of discipline, and every kind of corruption that difference a nation, had for a century past, shaken the Ottoman empire. The Russians have fallen unawares upon the Turks, in this state of degradation, and have contributed to enseeble them still more. They have broken the ties which attached the Tartars to this dominion; and by procuring the cession of some forts and harbours in the Crimea, have secured to themselves the powers of regulating, as their policy requires, the movements of this indesatigable, destructive, and serocious body of horse.

To the Weft, the Ruffians have nothing to fear from the Poles, who never had any fortified towns, nor troops, nor revenue, nor government, and who have lately been deprived of half of their

territory.

In the beginning of this century, Sweden loft those of her conquests, from which the derived frength and riches. Whatever degree of energy she may acquire from her new constitution, the Finland.

will never become a formidable power. Far from BOOK being in a condition to aggrandize herfelf at the very some contrary, always have reason to fear, that the shall be deprived by them of what still remains to her in

It may possibly happen, that the fault which the court of Petersburgh has committed; in approximating the Prussan territory to their possibions, may one day, occasion hostilities. Some favourable circumstances may, perhaps determine this new neighbour to make good the claims of the Teutonic Knights upon, Livonia; and then the blood of the Russan and Prussan would stain the waters of the Baltic; and would be consounded under the walls of Riga. The ambition of the house of Brandenburg will, however, the too habitually opposed on the side of Germany, to prevent that power from raising any considerable alarms in the North.

We learn, from these observations, that the empire might diminish considerably, it's, land forces, if, they were destined only to guard it's provinces from invasion: but as their chief, employment is to retain under the work, people who are always distaitsfied with an oppressive government, it is not an easy matter to determine how far they ought to be reduced. The navy must be considered in another point of view.

The inconfidentials, connections of Russia with the rest of Europe, were wholly carried on by land, when the English, in seeking a passage to the East Indies by the northern seas; discovered the port of Archangel. Having failed up the Dwina, they came to Moscow, and there laid the soundation of

a new trade.

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With her neighbours but by this port, where the reighbours but by this port, where I invited the traders who frequented to White Sea to come to the Baltic, and ende voured to procure a more extensive and advantageous mart for the productions of his empirements.

tageous mart for the productions of his empir. His creative genus foon inlarged his views, as the was ambitious of making his country become a maritime power.

His-first attention was engaged in the contraction of vessels fit for the detence of his overally and for attacking those of his properties. These are galleys of different dimensions, force

coafts, and for attacking those of his neighbour. These are galleys of different dimensions, some which are fitted for cavalry, but a greater numb for infantry. As the troops themselves, who a taught to manage the oar, compose the crews, tigalleys are armed without expense or delay. To anchor is dropped every night, and the forces lat

where they are least expected.

WHEN the landing is effected, the troops dra
the galleys on shore, and form an intrench
camp of them. Part of the army are lest
guard them; and the rest are dispersed abo
the country, upon which contributions are to!
levied. When the expedition is at an end, th
re-embark, in order to renew the same plund
and devastation on some other spot. A numb
of experiments have shewn the efficacy of the

armaments.

This fuccessful beginning encouraged the r
former of Russia to attempt to have large ship
and it was at Cronstadt, which serves as a harbo
roo Petersburgh, that he stationed his sleets.

The sea is not broad enough before the mou of the harbour. The ships that are coming in a forcibly driven, by the impetuotity of the Naupon the dangerous coasts of Finland The with the trough a channel so full of breakers, the

they cannot be avoided, unless the weather be re-BOOK markably fine. The ships soon rot in the sharbour. The saling of the squadrons is greatly retarded by the ice. There is no getting out but with an easterly wind, and the westerly winds blow in those latitudes the greatest part of the summer. Another inconvenience is, that the dock-yards are at Petersburgh, from whence the ships cannot get to Cronstadt, without passing over a very dangerous stat that lies in the middle of the nyer.

Ir Peter I had not had that partiality which great men, as well as others, have for their own plans, he might eafily have been made fentible that Cronstadt and Petersburgh were improper places for the naval forces of Rusha, and that it was in van to expect that art should remove every natural disadvantage. He would have given the preference to Revel, which is much better calculated for this important purpose. Pethaps, more mature reslections would even have convinced him, that it was not yet the proper time for him to

aspire to this kind of power

It is demonstrated both by reason and experience, that a military navy must have for it's basis a trading one. Russia, of all the European nations, is that, which the abundance of it's navial stores and the bulk and quantity of it's productions, invites to a more active and more extensive commerce. There was not however a single trading vessel in the whole empire, when the plan was adopted of supplying it with a sleet. The founder of an empire, who had been acquainted with the natural progress of things, would have first turned his views towards a commercial navy. This political arrangement was subverted, and the successions of Peter I have never deviated from this erroneous system. None

-BOO'K of them have thought of furmounting the obstacles which, arising from a number of defective institutions, have thwarted mercantile expeditions, by which good crews are formed. 'They have all confined themselves to the system of maintaining and multiplying fquadrons, which cannot have either knowledge or experience. At : present, this navy, the expence of which is use-, less, is composed upon the Baltic of thirty ships of the line, and twenty-one frigates; in the fea of Azoph, it confifts of eleven flips of war, which fearce draw eleven feets of water; and at the mouth of the Danube, of seven or, eight large barks, armed with guns of no inconfiderable diameter. It would be proper to difband the greatest part of these forces, till methods had been put in practice to render them useful.

Obstacles mount

them.

THE changes we have taken the liberty to which pre-fuggeft, 'are indifpensably necessary to render vent the prosperty Russia a slourishing state, but this is not the only of Russia thing required. To insure the continuance of Measures her prosperity, some stability must be given to be purfued the order of the fuccession. The crown of Russia was long hereditary; Peter L. made it patrimonial; and it became, as it were, elective at the last revolution. But every nation wishes to know upon what 'right it's government is established; and the claim that has the greatest effect upon the people is birth-right. When this evident mark of fuccession is removed from the eyes of the multitude, universal revolt and diffention prevail.

> Bur it is not enough to give the people a fovereign whom they cannot refuse to acknowledge; that sovereign must make them happy; and this can never be done in Russia, till the form of government be changed.

SLAVERY,

word, is the state into which the whole nation is fallen. Among the subjects of this empire, who are considered as free, there is not one of them who is morally certain of the safety of his person, of the permanent property of his sortiume, or of liberty, which may not be taken from him, except

in cases previously determined by law.

UNDER such a government, no tie can subsiste the tween the members and their head. If he should be always formidable to them, they are no less so to him. The strength he exerts to oppress them, is no other than their own united strength turned against themselves. Despair, or a nobler sentiment, may every instant turn it against him.

THE respect due to the memory of so great a man as Peter I. ought not to prevent, us from declaring that his talents did not enable him at one view to discover every requisite necessary to form a well-conflituted state, "He was naturally a man of genius, and had been inspired with a love of glory. This passion made him active, patient, affiduous, indefatigable, and capable of conquering every difficulty which nature, ignorance, or custom, scould oppose, to prevent the fuccess of his enterprises. With these virtues's and the foreign aids he called in, he succeeded in establishing an army, a fleet, and a seaport. He made feveral regulations necessary for the profecution of his great projects; but though he has been generally extolled as a lawgiver, he only enacted two or three laws, and those bear the stamp of a favage disposition. He never proceeded so far as to combine the happiness of, his people with his own personal greatness. After his noble inflitutions, his people were as wretched as ever; and full grouned under poverty, flavery, and oppression. He never relaxed in any one instance

BOOK his arbitrary power, but rather made it more opperfive; and bequeathed to his fuccessors that detestable and pernicious idea, that the subjects are nothing, and that the sovereign is all.

Since his death, this mischievous system has been constantly pursued. It has been impossible to inculcate the idea that liberty is the birthright of all men; that every well-regulated society ought to be directed to the general good; and that it is power obtained by unlawful means which has deprived the greatest part of the globe of this

natural advantage.

Such has been the opinion of Catherine II. As foon as this celebrated princefs had affirmed the reins of government, a report was fpread on all fides, that her delign was to reign over free men. At the inftant when her intentions began to transpire, upwards of a hundred thousand vaffals, were preparing a revolt against their mafters. Many of the lords, who resided upon their estates, were massacred. This commotion, the consequences of which might have subverted the state, made it evident, that it was necessary to tame the bears before their chains were broken; and that wholesome laws, and in diffusion of knowledge ought to precede heerty.

IMMEDIATELY, a lystem of legislation was planned; and it was desired that this code should be approved of by the people themselves, in order that they might respect and adhere to it as their own work. My children, said the sovereign to the deputies of her vast dominions, consider well with me the interest of the nation: let us write in drawing up a body of laws, that may establish

public felicity upon a permanent bafis.

CATHERINE attended afterwards to the forming of men; and was directed in her plan, by a bold and striking truth, addressed to Peter I That

prince was flattering himself with the greatest BOOK fucces, from the return of the young men whom he had fent to acquire knowledge, in the most enlightened countries of Europe; when his buffoon, who was attending to him, folded a piece of paper as hard as he possibly could, and presenting it to him, challenged him to efface the marks of the fold. But if it were impossible to reform Russia, in a barbarous state; what hopes can there be of reforming it in a corrupt one? If it were impossible to give good, morals to a people who had none; how can we expect to inftill them into the minds of those, who are tainted with bad ones? These considerations have determined Catherine to leave the present generation to itself, and to give her whole attention to posterity.

By her care, schools have been established, in which the nobility of both sexes are instructed in the useful sciences, and in the sgreeable arts. Wise men, who have seen these institutions on the spot, have censured the fivolousness and parade that prevails in them: but ressection will sooner or later correct any defects they may have.

OTHER establishments, perhaps still more necessary, have been formed in savour of the people. There it is that young men, and young girls, receive, in separate dwellings, during a term of sisteen years, all the kinds of instruction adapted to the employments or professions they are to exarcise. When the social 'virtues have taken deep root in their hearts; when it has been impressed upon them, that honour is the most noble recompence of a virtuous mind, and that shame is it's most dreadful punishment, these pupils, born in a state of slavery, will no longer have any master, and will become cutzens in the utmost extent of the word. The good principles in which hey have been educated, will dissule themselves,

BOOK in process of time, from the center of the empire

V. to the most remote provinces; and with the morals which must necessarily result from them, a well regulated liberty will be extended, which must infine the felicity of the nation, under the easy refiraint of the laws.

To accelerate the progress, always too flow, of a wife legislation, and a good education, it would perhaps be proper to chuse out one of the most fertile provinces of the empire, to erect habtations there, to supply them with all the implements of husbandry, and to allot a portion of land to each house. It would then be adviseable to invite free men from civilized countries, to give them, the entire, property of the houses and lands prepared for them, to fecure to them a subsistence for three years, and to have them governed by a chief who should have no property in the country. A toleration should be granted to all religions, and confequently private and domestic worship should be allowed, but no public form of worthip should be established.

From hence the feeds of liberty would spread all over the empire: the adjacent countries would fee the frappiness of these colonists, and wish to be as happy as they. Were I to be cast among savages, I would not bid them build huis to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather; they would only laugh at me; but I would build one myself. When the severe season came on, I should enjoy the benefit of my foresight: the savage would see it, and next year he would imitate me. It is the same thing with an enslaved nation; we are not to bid them be free; but we are to lay before their eyes the sweets of liberty, and they will wish for them.

A would by no means impose upon my colonists the burden of the first expences I had incurred on their account; much less would I BOOK entail the pretended debt upon their offspring.

This would be falle and inhuman policy. Is not a state sufficiently rewarded by a man of twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years of age, who voluntarily devotes his person, his strength, his talents; and his life, to the service of the public? Must he pay a rent likewise for the present he makes? When he becomes opulent, he may be considered as a subject, but not till the third or south generation, if the project be meant to succeed, and if the people can be brought to that condition, the advantages of which they have had time to be acquainted with.

In this new arrangement, where the interests of the monarch will be blended with those of the fubject, in order to strengthen Russia, she must aim at less glory, and facrifice the influence she has assumed over the general assairs of Europe. Petersburgh, which has improperly been made a capital, must be reduced to a mere commercial staple; and the seat of government transferred to the heart of the empire. It is from such a center of dominion, that a wife fovereign, acquainted with the wants and refources of his people, will effectually labour to unite the detached parts of that large empire. From the suppression of every kind of flavery will fpring up a middle state among the people, without which, neither arts, manners, nor learning, ever existed in any nation.

Till this shall be accomplished, the court of Russia will endeavour in vain to enlighten the nation, by inviting famous men-from all countries. Those exotics will perish there, as foreign plants do in our green-houses. In vain will they creck schools and academies at Petersburgh; in vain will they fend pupils to Paris and to Rome, to be trained

314 BOOK up under the best masters. Those young men, V. on their return from their travels, will be forced to neglect their talents, and embrace an inferior station to procure a subsistence. In all undertakings," much depends upon the first steps we take; and the first step is certainly to encourage mechanic arts, and the lower classes of men. If we learn to till the ground, to drefs fkins, to manufacture our wool, we shall soon see wealthy families fpring up. From these will arise children, who, not chuling to follow the laborious professions of their fathers, will begin to think; to converse, to write, and to imitate nature; and then we shall-have philosophers, orators, poets, painters, and statuaries. Their productions will be fought after by rich men, and they will purchase them. As long as men are in want, they will work, and continue their labour till their wants are satisfied. Then they become indolent, and unable to employ their time; and thus the finer arts are in all places the offspring of genius and indolence, for men to fly to them when they have no other resources. a 'Ir we attend to the progress of fociety, we shall find husbandmen plundered by robbers; these husbandmen select a few from among themfelves to oppose the robbers, and thus they commence foldiers. While some are reaping, and the rest are upon guard, some persons looking on say to the labourers and foldiers; 'You feem to be hard at work; if you that are hufbandmen will feed us, and you that are foldiers will defend us, we will beguile your labours with our fongs and dances. Hence the origin of the troubadour, or bard, and of the man of science. In process of time, the latter is fometimes joined with the chief against the people, and sings the praises of tyranny; fometimes with the people against the tyrant, tyrant, and then he fings the praifes of liberty. BOOK.
Whichever part he takes, he becomes a citizen.
V.
of confequence.

Let us attend to the usual progress of nature, and indeed it would be in vain to depart from it. We shall find all our efforts ineffectual, and every thing tending to decay around us; we shall be nearly in the same barbarous state, from which we endeavoured to extricate ourselves; nor shall we be able to effect this, till circumstances shall give rise to an indigenous policy on our own foil, the progress of which can at most only be accelerated by foreign affistance. This is all we can reasonably expect, and we must continue to cultivate our land.

In this we shall find another advantage, which is, that the arts and sciences of our own growth will gradually advance towards persection, and we shall be originals; whereas, if we copy foreign models, we shall be ignorant of the cause of their persection, and we shall never be any thing more than impersed insistent

than imperfect imitators.

The picture we have here drawn of Ruffia may be thought to be an improper digrefion; but, perhaps, this is the time to form a right estimate of a power, which, for some years pass, has acted so conspicuous and distinguished a pass, Let us now inquire into the connections other European nations have formed with China.

INDUSTRY prevails among the Chinese more Trad than among any other people in the world. In a Chine country too populous, notwithstanding the plenty bour of productions, the expectation of approaching count dearth, makes all the citizens industrious, active, and restless. They must necessarily be interested, mean, false, and deceiful.

This rapacious disposition made the Chinese renounce the use of gold and filter coin in their BOOR inland trade: They were forced to this by the
V. great increase of coiners, and were reduced to the
necessity of using only copper money.

Correr becoming fcarce, though history has not informed us by what means, those shells were afterwards brought into use; so well known by the name of cowries. The government, having obferved that the people grew diffatisfied with fo britile a commodity in lieu of coin, ordered that all copper utenfils in the empire should be brought to the mint: This ill-judged expedient proving infufficient to answer the demands of the public, about four hundred temples of the god Fo were ordered to be demolished, and all-his idols melted down. After this, the court paid the magistrates and the army, partly in copper, and partly in paper currency. The people were so exasperated at these dangerous innovations, that the government was obliged to drop them. From that time; which was three hundred years ago, copper coin is the only legal money. The first state of the state of

Norwithstanding the self-interested disposition of the Chinese, their foreign connections were
for a long time inconsiderable. Their distant
behaviour with other people, proceeded from the
contempt they had for them. At length, however,
they grew desirous of frequenting the neighbouring ports; and the Tartar government, less folicitous to preserve the ancient manners than the
former government had been, encouraged this
mode of increasing the wealth of the nation. Voyages were openly undertaken, which before were
only talexared by the interested governors of the
maritime provinces: A people so famed for their
wisdom could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception wherever they went. They took
advantage of the high opinion other nations entertained of their taste, to recommend the commen-

t dities they had to dispose of, and their activity ex-B,00 to

CHINA at present trades with Coren, which is supposed to have been originally peopled with Tartars. It has certainly often been conquered by them, and has been sometimes subject to, formetimes independent of, the Chinese, to whom it now pays tribute. Here they carry China ware, tea, and filks, and in return bring home hemp and cotton, and an ordinary fort of ginleng.

The Tartars, who may be confidered as foreigners, purchase of the Chinese woollen stuffs, trice, tea, and tobacco, for which they give them sheep, oxen, furs, and especially ginleng. This plant grows upon the confines of Tartary, near the great wall lt is also found in Canada It's root is a turnip, sometimes single, sometimes divided into two other has then some resemblance to the inserior parts of a man, from whence it has acquired the name of ginleng in China, and that

i of garentoguen among the Iroquois

It's stem, which is renewed every year, leaves, as it falls off, an impression-upon the neck of the root, so that the age of the plant is known by the number of these impressions, and it's value recreases in proportion to it's age. This stem, which is low, single, and stringled only with two or three leaves, divided into five smaller ones, terminates in a small umbel of slowers. The slowers are composed of size petals and as many stamman, supported upon a pistil, which being covered with it's calix, becomes a small stessy fruit, filled with two or three little seeds. Some of the slowers produce no fruit.

The virtues of the ginfeng root are many, but it is generally allowed to be a strengthener of the stomach, and a purifier of the blood. It's transpaBOOK rency is given to it by the same process nearly as

v. the Orientalists employ for the salop. This prepared ginleng is in such bigh estimation among the
Chinese, that they never find it too dear.

The government fends out ten thousand Tartar foldiers every year to gather this plant; and
every one is obliged to bring home two ounces
of the beft ginleng gratis, and for the reft they
are paid it's weight in filver. Private persons are
not allowed to gather it. This odious prohibition
does not prevent them. If they did not break
this unjust law, they would not be able to pay
for the commodities they buy in the empire,
and consequently must submit to the want of
them.

We have already taken notice of the trade of China with the Ruffians. It will become confiderable, if the two governments should ever discontinue to oppress their merchants.

The trade which the empire has opened with the inhabitants of the Lefs Bucharia, confilis only in exchanging it's tea, tobacco, and woollen cloth, for the gold dust these people find in' their torrents, or in their rivers. These transactions, which are at present inconsiderable, will not receive any great increase, 'till these barbarians have been instructed in the art of working the mines, with which their mountains abound.

CHINA is separated from the Mogul dominions, and from other parts of India, by moving sands, mountains, or by rocks, heaped upon one another, which render every communication with these opulent regions impracticable. Accordingly, they add nothing to the trifling commerce which this nation carries on annually by land. That which the sea opens to them is more considerable.

... THE empire scarce trusts any thing to the ocean BOOK except tea, filks, and china. At Japan these ar- V ticles are paid for with gold and copper; at the Philippine islands, with piastres; at Batavia, with spices; at Siam, with woods for dying, and with varnish, at Tonquin, with coarse filks; and at Cochinchina, with gold and fugar. The returns do not exceed five-and-thirty, or forty millions of livres \*, although the Chinese double their capitals in this trade. Their agents or partners in most of the markets they frequent, are the defcendents of fuch of their own countrymen as refused to submit to the yoke of the Tartars.

THESE connections, which on one fide terminate at Japan, and on the other at the Straits of Malacca and of Sunda, would probably have been extended, if the Chinese ship-builders had been less attached to their old customs, and had condescended to receive instruction from the Eu-

ropeans.

topeans.

It, might readily be imagined, that this contempt of one people for the knowledge of ano-. 50 - 30 - 40 ther, was one of the principal characteristics of barbarilm, or even, perhaps, of the lavage state. It, is, however, calforthe vice of a civilized nation. A foolist pride persuades them that they know every thing, or, that what they are, ignorant of is not worth the trouble of learning. The nation makes no improvement in the sciences, and it's arts remain in that state of mediocrity from whence they will never emerge, unless by fome fortuitous event, which time either may, or may not bring about. The country and a cloister are then in a similar situation; and this is a very exact representation of China, which is furrounded on all fides by light that cannot pene-

From 1,458,3331, 6c. 2d. to 1,566,6651, 135, Ad.

BOOK trate into it; as if there were no mode of expelling ignorance from it, without introducing, corruption. In what state would the European nations be, if, infected with variity, concealed under the mask of some prejudice, they had not reciprocally enlightened each other? The one is indebted to the other for the seeds of liberty; and they are both of them indebted to a third, for having taught them the true principles of commerce. This kind of exchange is of infinitely greater consequence to their happines; than that of their productions.

The trade of the Europeans, with China.

The first Europeans, whom their restless dispofitions impelled towards the coasts of China, were admitted indifcriminately into all the ports. Their extreme familiarity with the women, their haughtines with the men, and repeated acts of infulnal indifferetion, son deprived them of that privilege; and now they are only suffered to put in at Canton, the fouthernmost harbour of these extensive coasts.

There hips at first went up as ar as the walls of this celebrated city, studied at the distance of fiscen leagues from the mouth of the Tigris. By degrees the harbour was choaked up, so as to give no more than twelve of thirteen seet of water. Then our ships, which had constantly been increasing in size, were obliged to stop at Hoanpou, three miles distant from the city. It is a tolerable harbour, formed by two small islands. The French, from some particular circumstances, obtained the liberty, in 1745, of fixing their magazines in the port of Wampou, which is healthy and populous; but the rival nations have always been forced to transact their affairs at the other port, which is entirely defert, and particularly

ice has been cut.

DURING the five or fix months that the Ships B O O K crews are wearying themselves or penshing at Vi Hoang pon, the agents are making their fales and purchases at Canton When these foreigners first frequented this great mart, they were allowed all the liberty that was confiftent with the maintaining of the laws They foon grew tired of the circumspection which is requisite under a government for much addicted to ceremony To punish them for their imprudence, they were prohibited from having any immediate access to the person in whom the public authority was vested, and they were all obliged to live together in one quarter of the city. The magnifrate would not allow any other place of refidence to any, except fuch as could procure a creditable person to be security for their good behaviour These restrictions were still increased in 1760 The court, being informed by the English, of the shameful oppressions of it's delegates, fent commissaries from Pekin, who suffered themselves to be bribed by the parties accused, Upon the report made by these corrupt men, all the Europeans were confined in a few houses, where they could only treat with a company that was in possession of an exclusive charter power of this monopoly has been fince diminish-

These mortifications have not induced us to relinquish the trade to China. We continue to get from theme tea, claim, riw silks, manusactured silks, varnish, paper, rhubarb, and some other articles of less consequence

ed, but the other restraints still continue the

fame

The tea plant is a firith which has the appear-Account of ance of growing wild It is five or fix feet high, ledge we and is common at China and in Japan It de-have achights in craggy places, and is most frequently quired found upon the slope of hills and along the side concernional to the state of the s

BOOK of rivers. The Chinese sow whole fields with it; the Japanese are satisfied with planting it round

which the the borders of their grounds. It arrives at it's Europeans full growth only at the end of feven years. The stem is then cut, in order to obtain fresh shoots, each of which bears nearly as many leaves as a

whole shrub. It's leaves, which are the only valuable part of the plant, are alternate, oval, pointed, imooth, dentated in their circumference, and, of a deep green colour. The youngest are tender and thin. They acquire more firmness and substance with age. At the balis of them, diftinct flowers make

their appearance, which have a calix with five or fix divitions, as many white petals, often united at the bottom, and a great number of stamina placed round a piftil. This is changed into a rounded ligneous shell, with three ridges, and three cells, each filled with one spherical feed, or with feveral angular feeds.

Beside this tea, known by the name of Bo-

hea, we may diftinguish two other kinds, very strongly characterised. One is the green tea, the flower of which is composed of nine petals; the other the red tea, which has a large flower with fix red petals, and furnished in it's center with a cluster of stamina, united at their base. It is not known whether there are more species of this plant existing. Of the three that have been mentioned, the first is the most common. The Bohes tea is cultivated in most provinces of China, but is not equally good every where; though care be always taken to place it in a fouthern afpect and in valleys. The tea that grows in stony ground

is far preferable to that which grows in a light foil, but the worst fort is that which is produced in a clayish ground. From hence arises the varieties that have improperly been called diffinct species.

THE

'The different degree of perfection in tea does BOOK not arise merely from the difference of foil; but v. chiefly from the feason in which it is gathered.

The first time of gathering is about the end of February. The leaves then are small, tender, and delicate; and this is the fort that is called ficki-typaa, or Imperial tea, because it is chiesly reserved for the use of the court and people of rank. The second time of gathering it is at the beginning of April; the leaves are then larger and more spread, but of inserior quality to the first. These yield the tost-jaa, or Chinese tea, which the merchants distinguish into three forts. Lastly, the leaves gathered in the month of June, and which are then arrived at their full growth, yield the bants-jaa, or coarse tea, which is kept for the common people.

A THIRD method of multiplying the various kinds of tea confifts in the different manner of preparing it. The Japanese, according to the account of Koempfer, have buildings on purpole, which contain a feries of small furnaces, each of them covered with a plate of iron or copper. When this is heated, it is spread over with leaves, which have been previously dipt in hot water, of exposed to it's vapour. They are stirred about briskly, till they have acquired a sufficient degree of heat. They are afterwards thrown upon mais, and rubbed between the hands. This procefs, when repeated two or three times, abforbs all the moisture. At the expiration of two or three months, it is renewed again, especially for the imperial tea, which, as it is to be used in powder, requires a more complete deliccation. This precious kind of rea is kept in China jars; that of an inferior quality in earthen pots, and the coarfest of all in baskets of straw. The preparation of this last, does not require so much BOOK care. It is dried at a less expence in the open air. Beside these teas, there are others that are brought in cakes, in balls, or in little parcels tied round with filk. Extracts are also made from

The practice of the Chinese in the cultivation, gathering, and preparation of their tea, is less known: but it does not appear to be very different from that used by the Japanese. It has been said that they added to their tea some vegetable dye It's green colour has likewise been attributed, but without soundation, to a mixture of copperas, or to the effect of the place of copper upon which the leaf has been dried.

TEA is the common drink of the Chinese; and was not introduced among them through vain caprice. Almost throughout the empire, the water is unwholesome and nauseous. Of all the methods that were tried to improve it, none succeed so well as tea. Upon trial it was thought to be endued with other virtues, and was extolled as an excellent dissolvent, a purifier of the blood, a strengthener of the head and stomach, and a promoter of digestion and perspiration.

The high opinion which the Europeans, who first went into China, conceived of it's inhabitants, induced them to adopt the high, though, perhaps exaggerated opinion, the Chinese had of tea. They communicated their enthusiasm us, and this enthusiasm has distribed itself with continual increase through the North of Europe and of America, in countries where the air is thick and loaded with vapours

WHATEVER may be the influence of prejudice, in general, yet it must be allowed, that tea produces fome good effects in those countries where the use of it is universally adopted: but these

effects cannot be so great any where as in China. B O O K. We know 'the Chinese reserve, the best tea for themselves, and adulterate that intended for exportation, by mixing with it other leaves, which resemble those of tea in shape, but may not have the same properties: We know too, that since the exportation has been so great, they are not so circumspect in the choice of the foil, nor so careful in the preparing of the tea. Our manner of using it may likewise contribute to lessen it's virtues.

We drink it too hot and too ftrong; we always mix it with a great deal of fugar, frequently with perfumes, and fometimes with pernicious liquors. Beside all this, it's being conveyed so far by sea is alone sufficient to exhaust most of it's salubrious falls.

We shall never be able to determine exactly the virtues of tea, till it has been naturalized in our own climates. We began to despair of succefs, though the experiments had been only made with feeds, which being of a very oily nature, are apt to grow rancid. At length, Mr. Linnæus, the most celebrated botanist in Europe. received this shrub in it's growing state, and contrived to preferve it out of a green-house, even in Sweden. Some plants have been since brought into Great Britain, where they live, flower, and thrive in the open air. France has also procured fome; and they will probably succeed in the fouthern parts of that kingdom. It will be a very great advantage to us, if we can cultivate a plant, which can never fuffer fo much by change of foil, as by growing musty in the long voyage it must undergo in being brought from abroad, . It is not long fince we had as little profpest of attaining to the art of making porcelain.

Some

Origin, mature. and properties of chase in China.

BOOK Some years ago there were in the collection of , Count Caylus two or three little fragments of a vase supposed to be Egyptian, which being carefully analysed proved to be unglazed porcelain. If that learned man be not in an error, or have the porce-not been milinformed, the making of porcelain lain which was' known in the flourishing days of ancient the Euro-Egypt. But, without some more authentic monuments than the allegation of a fingle fact, we must not deprive China of this invention, where the art has been known for a longer time than we can trace.

EGYPT is supposed by many to have the pre-eminence in point of antiquity, both in regard to it's foundation, and to laws, sciences, and arts in general, though perhaps China may have as good a claim to it. Nor can it be certainly determined, whether thefe two empires are not equally ancient, and have not received all their focial inflitutions from a people inhabiting the vast region that divides them: whether the savage inhabitants of the great mountains of Asia, after wandering about for many ages on the continent that forms the center of our hemisphere, have not infenfibly dispersed themselves towards the coasts of the seas that surround it, and formed themselves into separate nations in China, India, Persia, and Egypt: or, whether the successive floods, which may have happened in that part of the world, may not have inclosed and confined them to those regions full of mountains and defarts These conjectures are not foreign to the history of commerce, which in future times must greatly tend to illustrate the general history of the human race, of the feveral fettlements they have formed, of their opinions, and inventions of every kind.

The art of making porcelain is, if not one of BOOK the most wonderful, at least one of the most pleasing that men have ever discovered; it is the neatness of luxury, which is preferable to it's magnificence.

PORCELAIN is an earthen ware of the most perfect kind It varies in colour, texture, and transparency. Transparency, indeed, is not essential to it, for there is a great deal of very fine porce-

lain which has not this quality

It is usually covered with white or coloured varieft. This varnish is merely a layer of melted glass, which must never be completely transparent. This is stilled glazed porcelain, and is properly what we call china; the unglazed is diffinguished by the name of porcelain biscuit. This is intrinsically as good as the other, but is neither to neat, so bright, nor so beautiful.

The word earthen-ware is well adapted to porcelain, because, as all other earthen-ware, the subflance of it is pure earth, without any alteration from art but the mere division of it's parts. No metallic or saline substance whatever must enter into it's composition, not even in the glazing, which must be made of substances nearly, if not

altogether, as fimple, a way

The best porcelain, and commonly the closest, is that which is made of the simplest materials, such as a virtuilable stone, and a pure and white clay. On this last substance depend the closeness and compactness of porcelain, and indeed of

earthen-ware in general.

THE connoisseurs divide the china that comes from Asia into fix classes; the trouted-china, the old white, the Japan, the Chinese, the Chinese japan, and the Indian These several appellations rather denote a difference that strikes the eye than a real distinction.

THE trouted china, which no doubt is called FOOF so from the refemblance it bears to the scales of a trout, feems to be the most ancient, and favours most of the infa cy of the art. It has two imperfections The paste is always very brown, and the furface appears full of cracks. These cracks are not only in the glazing, but in the porcelain stfelf, and therefore this fort has but a fmall de gree of transparency, do-s not found well, is very brittle, and bears the fire better than any other To hide these cracks, it is painted with a variety of colours in this kind of ornament confifts it s The facility with which Count Lau ragais has imitated it, has convinced us that it is only an imperfect fort of porcelain

THE old white is certainly very beautiful, whether we confider only the glazing, or examine the This is very valuable porcelain, but very scarce, and but little used The paste of it seems to be extremely fhort, and fit only for small va'es, figures, and other ornamental china It is fold in trade for Japan, though it is certain that fome very fine of the fame kind is made in China It is of two different hues, the one a perfect creamcolour, the other a blueish white, which makes it look more transparent The glazing seems to be more incorporated into this last. This fort has been atten p ed at St Cloud, and fome pieces have been p oduced that looked very beautiful, but those who have narrowly examined them, have faid they were no better than frit or lead, and would not bear a companion

The Japan is not to easily diffinguished as most people imagine from the finest of the fort made in China A connosseur, whom we have consusted pretends, that in general the glazing of the true Japan is v hiter, and has less of the bluesse than the porcelain of China, that the ornaments

are laid on with less profusion, that the blue is BOOK brighter, and the patterns and flowers not so v. whimsical, and more closely copied from nature.

His opinion feems to be confirmed by the teftimony of fome writers, who tell us, that the Chinese who trade to Japan bring home some pieces of china that make more show than their own, but are not fo folid; and that they ferve to ornament their apartments, but that they never use them, because they will not bear the fire well. All china glazed with coloured varnish, whether fea-green, blueish, or purple, he believes to be Chinese. All the Japan brought into Europe comes from the Dutch, who are the only Europeans that are suffered to come into that empire. Possibly they may have chosen it out of the porceians brought there every year by the Chinele, or they may have purchased it at Canton. In either case, the distinction between the porcelain of Japan and that of China would not be founded on fact, but merely on prejudice. From this opinion it is plain, that what is fold here for Japan is very fine china;

There is less doubt about what we call porcelain of China. The glazing has a bluer cast than that of Japan, is more highly coloured, and the patterns are more whimsical. The paste is in general whiter and more compact; the grain siner and closer, and the china thinner. Among the several forts made in China, there is one that is very ancient; it is painted of a deep blue, a beautiful red, or a green like verdigrease, and is very coarse, very thick, and very heavy. Some of this is trouted, and the grain is often dry and brown. That which is not trouted has a clear sound, but both want transparency. It is sold for old china, and the finest pieces are supposed to come from Japan. It was originally a better fort

BOOK of earthen-ware, rather than a true porcelain;
V. time and experience may have improved it. It is grown more transparent, and the colours being more carefully laid on, look brighter. The essential difference between this and other china is, that this is made of a shorter paste, and is very hard and solid. The pieces of this china have always at the bottom the marks of three or four supporters, which were put to prevent it's giving way in baking. By this, contrivance, the Chinese have succeeded in making very large pieces of porcelain. The china that is not of this fort, and which is called modern china, is of a longer paste and finer grain, higher glazed, whiter, and clearer. It feldom has the marks of the supporters, and it's transparency has nothing glassy in it. All that is made with this paste is easily turned, so that it is visible the workman's hand is glided over it, as over a fine smooth clay. There is an infinite vari-ety of this fort of china, both as to form, colouring, workmanship, and price.

A HIFTH fort is what we call Chincle japan, because it unites the ornaments of the porcelain, which is thought to come from Japan, with those that are more in the Chincse taste. Among this kind of porcelain, there is some that is ornamented with a very fine blue, with white scrolls. The glazing of this kind is remarkable for being a true white enamel, whereas that of the other forts is half transparent; for the Chincse glazing is never

entirely fo.

The colours in general are laid on in the fame manner, both on the true thing and the minuteners of it. The first and most lasting of them is the blue that is extracted from smalt, which is nothing more than the calx of cobalt. This colour is commonly laid on before the pieces are either glazed or baked, so that the glazing that is put on afterwards

afterwards ferves as a diffolvent. All the other BOOK colours, and even the blue that enters into the composition on the pallet, are laid on over the glazing, and must first be mixed up and ground with a saline substance or calx of lead, that favours their ingress into the glazing. It is rather a common thing for the Chinese to colour the whole of the glazing; the colour is then laid on neither above nor below it, but is incorporated into the glazing itself. Some very extraordinary fancish ornaments are made in this manner. In whatever way the colours are applied, they are commonly extracted from cobalt, gold, iron, mineral earths, and copper. That which is extracted from copper is a very delicate colour, and requires great care in the preparation.

ALL the forts of porcelain we have described are made at King-to-chin, an immense town in the province of Kiamfi. This manufacture employs five hundred furnaces and a million of men., It has been attempted to be made at Pekin and other places of the empire; but it has not fucceeded any where, though the fame workmen have been employed, and the same materials made use of : fo that this branch of industry is entirely given up, except in the neighbourhood of Canton, where the fort of porcelain is made that is known amongst us by the name of India china. The paste of it is long and yielding; but in general the colours, especially the blue, and the red of iron, are far inferior to what comes from Japan and the interior parts of China. All the colours, except the blue, fland up in lumps, and are very badly laid on. This is the only china that has purple, which has given rife to that abfurd notion of it's being painted in Holland. Most of the cups, plates, and other veffels, which our merchants bring home, are of this manufacture,

BOOK which is less esteemed in China than our delft is in Europe.

ATTEMPTS have been made to introduce this art into Europe. It has succeeded best in Saxony. The porcelain that comes from this country is real porcelain, and probably made with very fimple materials, though prepared and mixed with more art than in Afia This curious preparation, together with the fearenty of the materials, is no doubt the circumstance that makes the Dresden porcelain so dear. As there is but one fort of paste that comes from that manufacture, it has been furmifed, and not without fome degree of probability, that the Saxons were only in poffession of their own secret, and by no means of the art of making china. This suspicion seems to be confirmed, by the great affinity there is between the Saxon and other German porcelain, which feems to be made upon the fame principle.

However this be, it is certain no porcelain is higher glazed, fmoother, better shaped, more pleafing to the eye, or more folid and durable. It will relist a fierce fire much longer than many of the forts made in China. The colours are finely disposed, and executed in a masterly manner; none are fo well adapted to the glazing; they are blended with great exactness; they are bright, without being shaded and glazed, like thole of most of the porcelain made at Sevre.

The mention of this place reminds us that we must take notice of the porcelain made in France. This, like the English, is only made with frit; that is, with stones that are not fusible in themfelves, but receive a beginning of fusion from the mixture of a greater or less quantity of falt; and accordingly it is more glassy, of a looser texture, and more brittle than any other, . That of Sevre, which is by far the worft of all, and always looks B O O K yellowish and dirty, which betrays the lead they put into the glazing, has no other merit than what it derives from the excellence of the artists that are employed for the patterns and penciling. These great masters have displayed so much taste in the execution of some of the pieces; that; they will be the admitation of posterity; but in itself this ware will never be more than an object of taste, luxury, and expense. The supporters will always be a principal cause of it's dearners.

ALL porcelain, when it receives the last effect of the fire, is actually in a state that has a tendency to fulion, is foft and pliable, and might be worked like red-hot iron; There is none of it that will not bend and give way when it is in that flate. If the pieces, when they are turned, are thicker, or project more on, one fide than another, the . ftrongest will infallibly bear away the weakest; they will warp to that fide, and the piece is fpoiled. This inconvenience is prevented, by propping it up with bits of porcelain made of the fame parte, of different shapes, which are applied under, or to the parts that project, and are most in danger of being warped. As all porcelain Thrinks in baking, the props must also be made of fuch materials as will yield in the same degree exactly as the paste they are intended to support. 'As the different pastes do not shrink equally, it follows that the props must be made of the same patte as the piece they support.

The fofter the china is, and the more inclining to vitrification, the more it requires to be propped up. This is the great fault of the Sèvre china; the paffe is very coffly, and frequently more of it is wasted in props, than is employed in making the piece itself. The necessity of this expensive method produces another inconvenience. The

BOOK glazing cannot be baked at the fame time as the porcelain, which therefore must twice undergo the heat of the furnace. The porcelain made in China, and the best imitations of it, being of a stiffer paste, and less susceptible of virisfication, seldom want any props, and are baked ready glazed. They therefore consume much less paste, are seldom spoiled, and require less time, as well as less

fire and trouble.

Some writers have urged, in favour of the fuperiority of Afiatic china, that it relifts fire better than our's, that all European china will melt in that of Saxony, but that the Drefden ntefle will melt in the foreign china. This affertion is entirely erroneous, if taken in it's full extent. Few porcelains of China will fland the fire fo well as the Drefden; they fool and bubble in the fame degree of fire which ferves to bake that made by Count Lauragais; but this is a circumflance of follittle confequence, that it fearce deferves attention. Porcelain is not intended to return into the furnace when once it is taken out, nor is it defigned to bear the action of an intenfe fire.

It is in point of folidity that the foreign porcelain truly excels that of Europe; it is by the property it has of heating quicker and with lefs rifk, and of bearing, without danger of being broken, the fudden effect of cold or boiling hot water; by the facility with which it is moulded and baked, which is an ineftimable advantage, as pieces of all fizes can be made with great eafe, as it can be baked without any tifk, be fold at a lower price, be of more general use; and confequently become the object of a more extensive trade.

ANOTHER great advantage of the India porcelain is, that the fame paste is very useful for making crucibles, and a variety of such vessels which are constantly used in the other arts. They not on. BOOK ly bear the fire for a longer time, but communicate nothing of their substance to what is sused in them. Their substance is so pure, white, compact, and hard, that it can scarce be melted, and ac-

quires no kind of tinge.

FRANCE is at the eye of enjoying all these advantages. It is certain that Count Lauragais, who has long been in fearch of the fecret of the Chinese, has at last made some china that is very like it. His materials have the same properties, and if they are not exactly the same, at least they . are a species of the same kind. Like the Chinese. he can make his paste long or short, and follow either his own or some other process. His porcelain is not inferior to that of the Chinese in point of phableness, and is superior to it in point of glazing; perhaps too in the facility with which it takes the colours. If it can be improved to fuch a degree as to have as fine and as white a grain, we may dispense with the porcelain of China.

While the discovery of Count Lauragais; from obstacles with which we are unacquainted, was confined to mere experiment, the manufactory of Sevre was gradually leaving off it's frit, and substituting to it another kind of paste, made from an extremely white earth, found in the province of Limoges. This new porcelain is much more folid than the former; it's appearance is more beautiful, it's grain more pleasing to the eye, and it's transparency less vircous. It's grazing is often much finer. This manufacture, by changing it's paste, partakes more of the nature of real porcelain, and the process of making it is more simple.

Nevertheless, as the earth made use of at Sevre is very short, and as the argillaceous part, BOOK which is the only one that can impart cohelion to It, can make it easy to work, and give it folidity in baking, enters little into the composition of this earth, the pieces that are produced from this manufacture will of courfe always bear a high price Count Lauragus's paste would not be subject to this inconvenience, for though it be not fo white, yet, under the hand of the artist, it will bend, like wax, at pleafure

THE brilliancy of the Limoges earth has delighted every one. Paris, and it's diffricts, have been immediately filled with porcelain ovens All these manufactures have got their materials from this province, and they have been found of the fame kind, but more or less white, and more or less fusible, according to the part of the very extensive layer from which they have been taken

WHEN M Turgot was intendant of Limoges, he established a manufactory of porcelain upon a very well concerted plan If this manufacture, which is upon the spot, and which has the advontage over all the rest of selecting it's materials, and in cheapness of workmanship, should be con ducted with activity and fkill, it must put an end to all competition. That of Sevre alone will full fublift, which, from the elegance of it's forms, and the superior taste of it's ornaments, will ever be herond any kind of comparison. But we have faid enough, and perhaps too much, upon the fub ject in question. We must now proceed to speak of the filks of China

The Pricegad zasar

THE annals of China aferibe the different of filk to one of the wives of the emperor Houngti These princesses afterwards amused themselves with breeding up filk worms, drawing the filk, and working it. It is even faid, that in the interior part of the palace there was a piece of ground fet apart for the culture of mulberry-trees. B O O K
The empres, attended by the chief ladies of her
court, went in person and gathered the leaves of
some of the branches that were brought down so
as to be within her reach. So prudent an instance
of policy promoted this branch of industry to
such a degree, that the Chinese, who before were
only clothed in skins, soon appeared dressed in
filk. The silks, that were now grown very common, were soon brought to great persection.
The Chinese were indebted for this last advantage
to the writings of some ingenious men, and even
of some ministers, who had not distant from their
theory every thing belonging to it.

THE art of breeding up filk-worms, and of spinning and weaving their silk, extended from China to India and Persia, where it made no very rapid progress; if it had, Rome would not, at the end of the third century, have given a pound of gold for a pound of filk. Greece having adopted this art in the eighth century, filks became a little more known; but did not grow common. They were long confidered as an object of magnificence, and referved for persons in the most eminent stations, and for the greatest folemnities. At length, Roger, king of Sicily, fent for manufacturers from Athens; and the culture of the mulberry-tree foon passed from that island to the neighbouring continent. Other countries in Europe wilned to partake of an advantage from which Italy derived fo much wealth: and after some fruitless attempts they attained it. However, from the nature of the climate, or fome other cause, it has not succeeded equally in every place.

The filks of Naples, Sicily, and Reggio, whether in organzin or in train, are all ordinary filks;

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BOOK but they are useful, and even necessary for brockers, cades, for embroidery, and for all works that require strong filk.

The other Italian filks, those of Novi, Venice Tuscany, Milan, Montferrat, Bergamo, and Pied mont, are used in organzin for the warp, though they are not all equally fine and good. The Bo logna filks were for a long time preferred to any other. But fince those of Predmont have been improved, they justly claim the preference, as being the smoothest, the finest, and the lightest Those of Bergamo come nearest to them.

Though the Spanish filks in general are very fine, those of Valencia are by far the best. They are all fit for any fort of manusacture; the only fault they have, is being rather too oily, which is

a great detriment to the dye.

THE French fills excel most others in Europe and are inferior to none but those of Predmon and Bergamo in point of lightness. Besides, they are brighter coloured than those of Predmont and more even and stronger than those of Bergamo.

The variety of filk produced in Europe has no yet enabled us to dispense with that of the Chinese Though in general it is uneven and heavy, it wil always be in request for it's whiteness. It is generally thought to derive this advantage from nature: but it is more probable, that, when the Chinese draw the filk, they put some ingredientinto the bason, that has the property of expelling all heterogeneous substances, or at least the countries parts of them. The sinte waste there is in this silk compared to any other, when it is boiled for dying, seems to give great weight to this conjecture.

However this be, the Chinese silk is so far superior to any other in whiteness, that it is the

only one which can be used for blondes and BOOK gauzes: all our endeavours to substitute our own. in the blonde manufactures have been fruitless. whether we have made use of prepared or unprepared filk. The attempts in gauze have not been quite fo unfoccelsful. The whitest French and Italian filks have been tried, and feemed to answer tolerably well; but neither the colour nor the drefling were fo perfect as in the gauzes made with

In the last century, the Europeans imported very little filk from China. The French filk succeeded very well for black and coloured ganze, and for catigut that was then in fashion. The taste that has prevailed for these forty years past, and more especially for the last twenty-five, for white gauzes and blondes, has gradually increased the demand for this production of the East. Of late it has amounted to eighty thousand weight a year, of which France has always taken near threefourths. This importation has increased to such a degree, that in 1766 the English alone imported a hundred and four thousand weight: as it could not be all confumed in gauze and blonde, the manufacturers have used it for tabbies and hose. 'The stockings made of this filk are of a beautiful white that never changes, but are not near fo fine as others. ے اُم کے بیان کیوں اُن آئی کی ا

" Beside this filk, fo remarkable for it's whitenels, which comes chiefly from the province of Tene Kiang, and is known in Europe by the name of Nanking-filk, which is the place where most of it is prepared, China produces ordinary filks, which we call Canton. As these are only fit for some kinds of tram, and are as dear as our own, which answer the same purpole, very few are imported. The quantity brought home by the English and Dutch does not exceed five or six thousand Z 2 :

BOOK pieces. The manufactured filks are a much

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The Chinese are not less ingenious in their silks than in preparing them. This dextend to those that are mixed with gold a ver. Their manusacturers have never how to draw out these metals into thread, a whole of their art consists in rolling the upon gilt paper, or putting the paper upor after they are woven. Both methods are a had.

THOUGH, in general, men are more apt to be pleased with novelty than with true excellence, yet the Europeans have never been tempted to buy these stuffs. They have been equally disputed at the aukwardness of the patterns, which exhibit nothing but distorted figures, and unmeaning groupes; they discover no taste in the disposition of the lights and shades, nor any of that elegance and ease that appears in the works of our good artists. There is a stiffness and a want of freedom, in all that the Chinese do, that is displeasing to persons of any taste; all favours of their particular turn of mind, which is destincted vivaently and elevation.

The only thing that makes us overlook these defects in those works that represent flowers, birds, or trees, is, that none of those objects are raised. The figures are painted upon the silk it-felf with indelible colours; and yet the deception is so perfect, that all these objects appear to be brocaded or embroidered.

THERE plain. When want on recommendation, for they are perfect in their kind: and so are their colours, especially the green and the red. The white of their damasks has something extremely pleasing. The Chinese make them only with the filk of Tche-Kiang. They thoroughly boil the

warp, as we do, but only half-boil the woof. This BOOK method gives the damaik more substance and stiffines. It has a reddish east without being yellow, which is very pleasing, and has not that glare that dazzles the sight. This agreeable white is likewise observed in the Chinese varnish.

THE varnish is a particular kind of resin, which The Eurodiffils from a tree called at Japan, fuz-dfu, and chafe lacat China, theebu ... It has few branches, and is of quered the height of the willow. It's bark is of a whitish ware and colour and rough, it's; wood brittle, and full of China. pitch. It's leaves, which are alternately, disposed Digression at the extremity of the branches, refemble those are of this of the ash; and push out from their axillæ clusters empire. of flowers, which are male upon one plant, and female upon another. The first have a calix with five divisions, five petals, and as many stamina. In the others we find, instead of stamina, a pistil crowned with three ftyles; this piftil becomes a yellowish fruit, of the bigness of a pea, slightly compressed on the sides, and filled with a hard kernel. This tree grows very well from feed, but the method of propagating it by fprigs is preferred. For this purpose, the branches from which new plants are to be raifed, are chosen in autumn. They are furrounded at, their base with a ball of moistened earth, tied round with thread, till the feafon of the frost, and kept moist. by being constantly watered. In the spring, when the branch has thot fome branches into this earth, it is fawed off below the ball, and transplanted.

This tree grows only in some mild provinces of China and Japan. It is also found in those regions of America, that are situated under the same latitude, such as Louisiana and Carolina, It thrives in all soils and with all exposures; but it's produce is not the same in every place, either

BOOK in quality or quantity. It requires but little care
v. in cultivating. It is sufficient to stir up the ground a little at the foot of the trees, and to put dead leaves round it, which ferve instead of dung. The trunk of those trees, that grow wild in the mountains, is formetimes twelve inches in diame-It is much less in those trees that are cultivated, and which do not last less than ten years. This difference is to be attributed to the incilions that are made in their bark to extract the varnish. This milky juice, which exists in all parts of the tree, diffils from the incilions, under the form of liquid pitch. When exposed to the air it assumes a reddiffi colour, which is foon changed into a bright black. Shells are fixed at each flit, to receive the liquor; which is afterwards poured into bamboos, and then carried to the merchants, who put it into larger vessels. The fresh varnish ex-hales a dangerous vapour, which produces inflammatory humours upon the fkin of those who are exposed to it. They preserve themselves from this pernicious effect, by turning the head aside when they collect the liquid, or when they pour it off. Some travellers add, that the work-men rub their hands and face with oil before and after the business, and that they carefully cover all other parts of the body.

The varnish is gathered in the summer, and the process is repeated three times in the same season, and upon the same tree, but the first that runs off is the best. When the tree appears exhausted, it's stem is cut off, and the root pushes forth fresh shoots, which are ready to yield varnish at the end of three years.

The varnish most in repute is that which comes from Japan. It does not require much prepartion. It is sufficient to strain it through a cloth, in order to separate it from any foreign particles. The superfluous watery parts are also evaporated BOOK by the heat of the sun, and hog's gall is added to V.

give it a degree of confiftence.

We must not confound this varnish with a very inserior fort with which it is adulterated. The latter, which is known by the name of Stam varnish, diffils from the tree that yields the apacar-

latter, which is known by the name of Siam varnish, distils from the tree that yields the anacardium. It is only used in varnishing the most ordinary utensils. It is gathered at Siam, Cambodia, and Tonquin, where the Chinese purchase it, because that which they extract from the Tsichu is not sufficient for their consumption.

The true varnish, of which they distinguish three different kinds in China, is used in two ways. The first consists in rubbing the wood with a particular fort of oil used in China; and as soon as it is dry, the varnish is laid on. It is so transparent, that the veins of the wood appear tinged through it, if it be lad on but two or three times. If it be repeatedly applied, it may be brought to shine like a looking-glass.

The other way is more complicated. A kind of paste-board is glued by the help of mastic over the wood. On this smooth and solid ground are spread several layers of varnish. It must be neither too thick nor too loquid; and in this just medium the skill of the artist principally consists.

WHICHEVER way the varnish is laid on, it effectually preserves the wood from decaying. The worms can scarce penetrate it, neither has the damp ever the least effect upon it; and with a hitle care this varnish leaves no smell behind.

Thus vamish is as pleasing to the eye as it is durable. It may be applied on gold and silver, and mixed with all forts of colours... Upon it are painted figures, landscapes, palaces, hunting parties, and battles. In short, it would not be de-

BOOK ficient in any respect, if it were not generally V. spoiled by the badness of the Chinese drawing.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defect, the making of this ware requires much pains and constant attention. This varnish must be laid on nine or ten times at least, and cannot be spread too thin. There must be a sufficient time allowed between the application of each layer, that it may be fuffered to dry. A longer time still must be allowed between the application of the last layer and the polishing, painting, and gilding. A whole summer is scarce sufficient for all this process at Nanking, from whence the court and the chief cities of the empire are supplied. It is carried on with greater expedition at Canton. As there is a great demand for this ware in Europe, and as the Europeans will have it made according to their own plan, and will allow but a short time to complete it, it is usually finished in too great haste. The artist, not having time to give the necessary degree of perfection to his work, is fatisfied if he can but make it pleasing to the eye. The Chinese manufacture of paper is not liable to the same imperfections. .

ORIGINALLY the Chinese wrote with a steel bodkin upon wooden tablets, which being fastened together, made a volume. They afterwards traced their characters upon pieces of silk or linen, cut to any length or breadth. At last, about fixteen hundred years ago, they sound out the secret of making paper.

THE Chinese paper is of two kinds. That which is used for writing and printing, is made of cotton rags, and of hemp, by a process nearly similar to that which is practised in the European manufactures. It is equal, and in some respects, superior to our paper. It's thinness and transparency have suggested the idea of it's being made

made of filk. But the persons who have propa-BOOK gated this opinion knew not that filk, though it may be reduced into very minute particles, will not mix with water, and can never acquire a confishence by being laid upon frames.

In making the second kind of paper, the Chisele use the internal banks of the mulberry-tree, of the elm, of the cotton tree, and more frequently of the bamboo. These substances, after they are become rotten by foaking in muddy water with lime in'it, are cut in pieces, bleached in the dew or in the fun, triturated in mortars, and boiled in coppers to a fluid paste. This paste being spread upon frames that are made of small cane-rods passed through the wire-drawing iron; produces those sheets of paper that are sometimes twelve feet long, and four feet broad, and which are generally used for hangings in the Chinese houses. Sometimes they are deligned for writing or printing: but they must in that case be dipped in a solution of alum; and even after this process, one can only write or print upon one of the two fides.

Though this paper be apt to crack, to be injured by damps, and to be worm-eaten, it is become an article of trade. Europe has borrowed from Asia the idea of surnishing closets and making

screens with it

The figures upon this paper are graceful in their attitudes and in their drefs; but though we fee heads, which prefent forme agreeable feature, yet they are very incorrectly drawn. The eyes in a full face are frequently reprefented as they fhould appear in a profile; and the hands are always wretchedly done. Moreover, there are no fhades in these drawings, and the objects appear as if they received light from all sides. They have not even a shade upon their ground, and are, in some measure, transparent. Accordingly, in

BOOK may be faid that the Chinese are not in the least
V. in possession of the art of painting: for there can

in poiesingn of the art of painting: for there can be no painting where there are neither contours, nor half-tunts, nor shades, nor reflected lights. Their works are at best nothing more than slight-coloured prints.

We cannot draw any conclusion from the plates

We cannot draw any conclusion from the plates that were engraved at Paris for the Emperor of China. The drawings were made by missionaries who had learnt the art of defign in Europe, by which means, they have in general been found conformable to the ideas of effect which we acquire from a studied inspection of nature. Nevertheles, in conformity without doubt to the

custom of the empire, one of them has been found, in which the figures marked no shade upon the ground, which made them appear as if they were in the air.

The perspective we observe in these drawings,

may also be attributed to the knowledge acquired in Europe. Though it be not accurate nor well chosen, fince all the aspects are presented as in a kite's view, yet these prints are, in this respect, very superior to real Chinese drawings. In the latter, we may indeed distinguish some idea of diminution in perspective, and of the lessening of objects: but we discern nothing that can induce us to suppose, that they have any knowledge of perspective geometrically demonstrated.

not studying the naked figure, and from the cir- nook sumstance of their not aiming at improvement, as oon as they find that they are advanced as far as

their predecessors.

This confined method of fludying, may however have produced one good effect among them. with respect to their porcelain. It may have contributed to preferve in their vales the forms the most simple, and those which first presented themfelves. These are, in fact, the most proper for this species of sculpture. They are the best adapted to the necessity of bearing an intense fire without getting out of shape. Their form, which is generally upright, or has none but very easy inflections, feems more fit to bear the effect of Our abundance of genius, and the confront defire of producing something new, induces us to attempt all kinds of curved attitudes, and frequently to print objects in the air, which fucceed with difficulty; and which, becoming irregular by the action of the fire, produce many defects, and occasion the loss of several pieces. To which we may add, that the first workmen who were employed in making figures for vales in our manufactures, were too much accustomed to work in gold and filver, where every thing may be attempted. It is to be hoped, that time, experience, and the failure of fuccess in many trials, will restore to this art the simplicity that belongs to it.

Since the custom of painting upon paper has been adopted in France and England, the Chinese paper is in less request. We may possibly be as fuccessful in our endeavours of producing rhubarb for ourfelves.

THE rhubarb is a root which has the property Chinafupof purging gently, of strengthening the stomach, plies the of facilitating digestion, and of destroying worms with thuticles.

BOOK in children. It is a tuberofe root, rather spongy, brown on the outfide, yellow internally and streaked with reddish veins. It's taste is bitter and astringent, it's smell acrid and aromatic. That

which is close, has a strong smell, and tinges the faliva yellow, is preferred. The pieces that are rotten, too loofe in their texture, and have but

little fmell, are thrown away. We have not, as yet, any certain idea of the plant that yields this remedy: it has not been examined upon the spot by any naturalist. The thubarb of Muscovy, the leaves of which are undulated, has been for some time considered as the true rhubarb: but it's root, which is too compact, and less purgative, feems to decide the matter againflit. Another species, which is the Rheum Palmatum of the botanists, and some seeds of which Mr. de Justieu has lately received through Russia, should seem to be the plant in question. It's root has the same texture, fame diftinguishing characters, the same properties as that which is used in our shops. It is oblong, tuberofe, and pushes out several leaves, palmated, has tharp pointed pods, from the middle of which there rifes, at the height of fix feet, a stalk of white flowers, rather small, each of which is composed of a coloured calix with fix divisions of nine stamina, and one putil, surmounted: with three flyles, which becomes, as it ripens, a

triangular feed. 'WE know not the precise place from whence this species originally comes: but it is well ascertained, that the true rhubarb grows without cultivation, between the thirtieth and thirty ninth degrees of north latitude The provinces of Chenfi and of Setichuen, to the north-west of China, the Less Bucharia, and the kingdom of Tangut, fill up a great part of this immenle space.

The root of the rhubarb is taken out of the BOOK earth towards the end of winter, before the leaves are unfolded. It is cut into pieces, which are placed upon long tables, and furred about feveral times in a day, till the juice they contain is grown thick and concrete. Without this precaution, the most active part of the root would be dishipated, the confequences of which would be a diminution of it's weight, and of it's virtue. The roots are afterwards firing upon little firings to dry them, and are hung up in the open air, in a shady place, or tied round the necks of the cuttle, as some travellers affirm. They are afterwards folded up in cotton, and sent to their respective destinations.

The Calmuck Tartars, and the inhabitants of Great Bucharia, are the persons who carry the rhubarb to Oremburg, where the Rushian government has it bought up. The good roots are carefully separated from the bad ones. Those that are not worth preserving are burnt, and the rest are dried a second time. The rhubarb that is not consumed in the interior part of the empire, is delivered to the English merchants at a stipulated price, which never varies. It is the best of all the thubarbs.

NEXT to this is the fort which the people of Great Bucharia carry into Persia, and which, after having traversed part of Asia by land, arrives on the borders of the Mediterranean, where it is bought by the Venetians

Before it is fold again, this rhubarb is treeted nearly with the same care as that which has passed

through the hands of the Ruftians

The rhubarb which comes to us by these two channels, not being sufficient for our consumption, we have been obliged to employ that which our navigators bring us from China It is very inserior

BOOK inferior to the other forts; whether it be that it V. has only been dried in an oven, as it has been imagined from it's not being bored; or whether it may have acquired fome particular tafte by being placed near other productions; or, in a word, whether a long voyage at fea may not have altered it's properties.

The Europeans have been defirous of appropriating to themselves this salutary plant. The shubarb tree which is seen in the royal garden at Paris, has already furnished some feeds and shoots, which have succeeded in an open ground, in several provinces of the kingdom. The society established at London for the encouragement of atts and commerce, distributed, in 1779, medals to two English cultivators who had produced shubarb of a superior quality. These first experiments must have been attended with favourable consequences.

BESIDE the articles already mentioned, the Europeans bring from China, ink, camphire, borax, canes, gum-lac; and formerly they purchased

gold there. In Europe a mark of gold is worth about fourteen marks and a half of filver. If there were a country in which it was worth twenty, our merchants would carry gold thither to exchange it for filver. They would bring us back that filver, to receive gold in exchange, which they would again carry abroad for the same purpose. This trade would be continued in this manner till the relative value of the two metals came to be much the fame in both countries. It was upon this principle, that for a long time filver was fent to China, to be bartered for gold; by which traffic a profit of forty-five per cent, was made. It was never carried on by the charter companies; because the profit they made upon it, however confiderable it

may appear, was yet much inferior, to that obtained B O O K upon their merchandise. Their agents, who were . V.

not indulged in pursuing what trade they chose, attended to these speculations for their own advantage. They followed this branch of commerce with fo much affiduity, that in a fhort time the returns were not sufficient to induce them to continue it. Gold is of greater or less value at Canton, according to the time of the year when it is purchased; it's value is lower from the beginning of February to the end of May, than through the rest of the year, when the harbour is full of foreign ships. Yet, in the most favourable season, no more than eighteen per cent, is to be made of it, which is not a sufficient inducement for any one to undertake this traffic. The only agents, who have not been sufferers by the cellation of this trade, are those of the French company, who were never allowed to be concerned in it. The directors referved that profit for themselves. Many attempted it; but Castanier was the only one who carried on the trade with abilities and fuccess. He sent goods to Mexico; these were fold for piasters, which were carried to Acapulco, then to the Philippines, and from thence to China, where they were bartered for gold. That able man, by this judicious circulation, had opened a track, which it as furprifing that no one has fince purfued. . All the European nations, which fail beyond Account

the Cape of Good Hope, go as far as China. The of the Eu-Portuguese were the first who landed there. The ropeans Chinele gave them the town of Macao, which was formed built upon a barren and rugged spot, on the point connections with of a little illand at the mouth of the river Canton, China. and with it a territory of about three miles in circumference. They obtained the freedom of the harbour, which is too narrow, but fafe and commodious, upon the condition of paying to the em-. i .

BOOK pire all the duties to be levied on the ships that should come in; and they purchased the liberty of building fortifications, by engaging to pay a yearly tribute of 37,500 livres . As long as the court of Lifbon maintained the fovereignty of the Indian feas, this place was a famous mart. It declined in the fame proportion as the power of the Portuguese, and gradually came to nothing. There would scarce be any remembrance left of this spot, formerly so celebrated, if, during one part of the year, it did not serve as an asylum for the European factors, who, after the departure of their ships, are obliged to quit Canton, which they cannot re enter till their veffels return. Neverthelefs, the feeble remains of this once flourishing colony, still enjoyed a kind of independence till the year 1774.

Ar that period, the murder of a Chinese determined the viceory of the province to apply to his court for a 'magistrate to instruct and govern the barbarians of Macao; these were the words of his petition. The court sent a Mandarin, who took possession of the town in the name of his master. He scorned to live among foreigners, who are always holden in great contempt, and fixed his relidence at the distance of a league from the town.

The Dutch met with worfe treatment about a century ago. Those republicans, who, notwithfanding the superiority they had gained in the Asiatic feas, had been excluded from China by the intrigues of the Portuguese, at last got access to the ports of that empire. Not satisfied with the precarious sooting they had acquired there, they attempted to erect a fort near Hoang-pou, under pretence of building a warehouse. It is said, that their design was to make themselves,

mafters of the navigation of the Tigris, and to BOOK give law both to the Chinese and to foreigners, V who were defirous of trading to Canton views were discovered too soon for their interest. They were all maffacred; and it was a great while before any of their nation could venture to appear anew upon the coasts of China They were feen a there again about the year 1730. The first flups that arrived there came from Java They brought various commodities of the growth of ndia in general, and of their own colonies in sarticular, and bartered them for those of the The commanders of these vessels; :ountry vholly intent upon pleafing the council of Bata-1a, from which they immediately received their orders, and expected their promotion, had nohing in view but to dispose of the merchandise hey were intrusted with, without attending to the quality of that they received in return Company food found, that in confequence of this proceeding they could never support, themselves igainst their competitors This consideration determined them to fend thips directly from Europe with money They touch at Batavia, where they take in such commodities of the country as are fit for China, and return directly into our latitudes, with much better lading, than formerly, but not to good as those of the English

Or all the nations that have established an intercourse with China, the English have maintained it the most constantly. They had a factory in the island of Chusan, at the nate when
affairs were chiefly transacted at Emouy. When
these were centered at Canton, their achivity was
full the same. As their Company were required
to export woollen cloths, they determined to
keep agents constantly at this place to dispose of
them. This custom of the English, joined to the
Vol. 11. A a great

BOO Ligreat demand for tea in their fettlements, made by them, at the beginning of the century, maften of almost all the trade carried on between China

of almost all the trade carried on between China and Lurope. The heavy duties, laid by the Parliament on that foreign production, at last made other nations, and France in particular, fensible of the advantages of this commerce.

FRANCE had formed in 1660 a particular Company for the trade of these latitudes. rich merchant of Rouen, named Fermanel, was at the head of the undertaking, which was begun with an infufficient capital, and proved unfuccessful. The aversion, naturally entertained for a people who believed that foreigners came among them for no other purpose than to corrupt their morals, and to deprive them of their liberty, was confiderably increaled by the loffes that were fustained. In vain, towards the year 1685, did the Clunese alter their opinion, and consequently their behaviour. The French feldom frequent their ports. The new fociety formed in 1698, was not more active than the former; nor did they succeed in this trade, till it came to be unit-

portion

The Dines and the Swedes began to frequent
the ports of China about the fame time, and have
acted upon the fame principles as the French The
Findden Company would probably, have adopted
them likewise, had it fublified long enough

ed with that of India, and role in the same pro-

The annual purchases made by the Europeans in China, if we compute them by those of the year 1766, amount to 26,754,494 intres\*, this turn, above four-fifths of which is laid out on the fingle article of tea, was paid\*in praftres or in goods carried by twenty-three stips. Swe-

den futnished 1,935,168 livres (a) in money, and i QOK 427,500 b) in tin, lead, and other commodities , Denmark, 2,161,630 livres (c) in money, and 231,000 (d) in iron, lead, and gun flints France. 4,000,000 (e) in money, and 400,000 (f) in drapery. Holland, 2,735,400 (g) in money, and 44,600 (b) in woollen goods, belide 4,000,150 (i) in the produce of her colonies Great Britain. 5,442,566 livres (k) in money, 2,000,475 (1) in woollen cloths, and 3,375,000 (m) in various articles from different parts of India All these sums together amount to 25,754,494 livres (n) do not include in this calculation 10,000,000 (a) in specie, which the English have carried over and above what we have mentioned, because they were deflined to pay off the debts that nation had contracted, or to lay in a stock to trade upon in the intervals between the voyages

IT is not easy to foresee what this tride will Confeehereafter be Though the Chinese are so fond of tures con-money, they seem more inclined to shut their the future ports against the Europeans, than to encourage flate of the them to extend their trade As the spirit of the Europe in Tartats has subsided, and the congnerors have China. imbibed the maxims of the vanquished nation.

they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their averlion and contempt of foreigners They have discovered these dispositions, by the humiliating hardflups they have imposed upon them, after having treated them with great respect The transition is but short, from this precarious fituation to a total expulsion It may not beifar off, and this is the more likely, as there is

<sup>(</sup>a) \$0.5-1 (a) 17.8 17] 101 (b) 90 067] 184 4d (b) 9623 (c) 165 6501 13- 4d (f) 16 5601 13- 4d (f) 12.5 751 (b) 1554 5- 8d (f) 166 6791 184 4d (f) 246 853 5- 6 (f) 554 5- 8d (f) 146 6791 184 4d (f) 246 853 5- 6 (f) 554 5- 6 (f) 146 6551 (g) 416 65061 133 4d 6d (m) 1406251 (o) 416,6661 131 4d Aa2

BOOK an active nation which is, perhaps, fecretly con
V triving to bring about this event.

The Dutch are not ignorant that all Europe's grown very fond of feveral Chinefe productions. They may readly fuppofe, that the impofibility of procuring them from the first hand would no hinder the confumption. If all Europeans were excluded from China, the natives would export their own commodities. As their shipping is no fit for a long navigation, they would be under necessity of carrying them to Batavia, or Malacca; and the nation to whom these colonies be long, would immediately get all this trade it's hands. It is dreadful even to suspect the republicans of any thing so base, but it is welknown that they have been guilty of more odiou acts for interests of less consequence.

It the ports of China were once flut, it is probable they would be fo for ever. The obffinace of that nation would never fuffer them to retract and there is no appearance that they would be compelled to it. What measures could be take againft a fate at the diffance of eight thousan leagues? No government can be fo abfurd as t imagine, that men, after the fatigues of fo long voyage, would venture to attempt conqueffs in country defended by such a number of people however destitute of courage this nation, which has never tried it's strength against the European may be supposed to be The only way in which we could diffress these people, would be by interesting their navigation, which is an object the pay justice attention to, as it neither affects the substitence nor their conveniences.

Even this frantless revenge would be practicable but for a short time. The ships employed withis piratical cruste would be driven from the latitudes, one part of the year by the monsoons.

and the other part by the storms they call typhons, BOOK which are peculiar to the feas of China.

HAVING thus explained the manner in which the Europeans have hitherto carried on the East India trade, it will not be improper to examine three questions, which naturally arise upon the fubject, and have not yet been decided. i. Whether it be adviseable to continue that trade. Whether large fettlements be necessary to carry it on with success 1 3. Whether it ought to be left in the hands of exclusive companies. We shall discuss these points with impartiality, as we have no other concern in the cause but the interest of mankind.

ALL, the accounts we have of things, are perverted by ignorance or evil intentions. The politician is guided only by his views, the merchant by his interest. There is none but the philosopher who knows when to doubt; who is filent, when his knowledge fails him; and who tells the truth, when once he refolves to fpeak For indeed, what reward could be offered, of fufficient importance to induce him to deceive mankind, and to forfeit his character. If we suppose it fortune; he is rich enough, if he have but a fufficiency to fatisfy his wants, which are extremely limited Is it ambition? If he have the happiness of being wife, he may excite the envy of others; but there is nothing under the heavens that he can possibly covet. Is he to be tempted with dignities? He knows they will not be offered to him; and if they should be, he knows that he would not accept them without a certainty of doing good. Is he to be seduced by flattery? He is totally unacquainted with this art, and disdains the contemptible advantages of it. Can he be influenced by fear? He fears nothing; not even death. If he be thrown into a dungeon.

## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

358 BOOK geon, he is well aware this is not the first time

V that tyrants, or fahatics, have plunged virtue into fisch a fituation, from whence she has been taken out merely to be dragged upon a scaffold. It is he who escapes out of the hands of defliny that knows not how to lay hold of him, because he has broken off, as the stoic says, the handles by which the ftrong feizes upon the weak, and

W. I ether E trope thould continue it s trade withIndia

disposes of them at pleasifre" Whorver confiders Europe as forming but one body, the members of which are tilited in one common interest, for at least in the same kind of interest, will not hesitate to pronounce, whether her connections with Afia be advarttageous or not The India trade evidently enlarges the circle of our enjoyments It procures us wholesome and agreeable liquors, convent ences of a more refined nature, more splendid furniture, some new pleasures, and a more confortable existence. Such powerful incentives have had the fame influence upon those nations, who, from their fituation, activity, good fortune in making discoveries, and boldness in enterprises, their very fource, as upon those who are unable to acquire them, unless through the channel of the mantime flates, whose navigation enabled them to disperse the superfluities of their enjoyments over the whole continent The Europeans have been to eager in their purfuit after thefe foreign luxuries, that neither the highest duties, the strictest prohibitions, nor the severest penalties, have been able to reftrain it Every government, after having in vain tried to subdite this inclination, which only increased by opposition, has been forced at last to yield to it, shough general prejudices, which were strengthened by time and custom, made them consider this contiphance

## IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES."

pliance as detrimental to the stability of the com-BO mon good.

Bur 'the time was come, when it became necessary to remove the restraints. Can it be a matter of doubt, whether it be beneficial to add the enjoyments of foreign climates to those of our own? Universal society exists as well for the common interest of the whole, as by the mutual interest of all the individuals that compose it. An increase of felicity must, therefore, result from a général intercourfe. Commerce is the exercise of that valuable liberty, to which nature has invited all men; which is the fource of their happiness, and indeed of their virtues. We may, even venture to affert, that men are never fo truly fenfible of their freedom as they are in a commercial intercourfe; nor is any thing fo conducive to it as commercial laws; and one particular , advantage derived from this circumstance is, that as trade produces liberty, fo it contributes to preferve it.

We must be but little acquainted with man, if we imagine, that, in order to make him happy, he must be debarred from enjoyments. We grant, that the being accustomed to want the conveniences of life lessens the sum of our misfortunes; but by diminishing our pleasures in a greater pro-portion than our pains, we are rather brought to a state of insensibility than of happiness. If nature have given man a heart susceptible of tender impressions; if his imagination be for ever involuntarily employed in fearch of ideal and delutive 'objects of happiness; it is fit that his reftless mind should have an infinite variety of enjoyments to pursue: 'But let reason teach him' to be · fatisfied with such things as he can enjoy, and not to be anxious for those that are out of his teach; this is 'true wildom.' But to require, that reason See 1 1 thould

p 0 0 K (hould make us voluntarily reject what it is in our power to add to our prefent happines, is to contradict nature, and to fabvert the first principles of society; it is to transform the universe moo one vast monastery, and to change men into so many idle and melancholy anchorets. Let us suppose this project executed, and, custing our eyes upon the globe, let us as ourselves, whether we should be better pleased with it in the state we should then see it, than as it was before?

How shall we persuade man to be content with the few indulgences that moralists think proper to allow him? How shall we ascertain the limits of what is necessary, which varies according to his fituation in life, his attainments, and his defires? No fooner had his industry facilitated the means of procuring a subsistence, than the lessure he grined by this was employed in extending the limits of his faculties, and the circle of his pleafures Hence arole all his factitious wants. The discovery of a new species of sensations excited a defire of preferving them, and a propenfity to find out others The perfection of one art introduced the knowledge of feveral others The fuc-cels of a war, occasioned by hunger or revenge, fuggested the idea of conquest Navigation put men under a necessity of destroying one another, or of forming a general union Commercial treaties between nations parted by the feas, and focial compacts between men dispersed upon the earth, bore an exact refemblance to each other These several relations began by contests, and ended by affociations. War and navigation have occasioned a mutual communication between different people and different colonies. Hence men became connected with each other by dependence or intercourse The refuse of all nations, mixing together during the raviges of war, are improved

improved and polished by commerce, the true BOOK fpirit of which is, that all nations should consider themselves as one great society, whose members have all an equal right to partake of the conveniences of the rest Commerce, in it's object and in the means employed to carry it on, supposes an inclination and a liberty between all nations to make every exchange that can contribute to their mutual fausfaction. The inclusation and the liberty of procuring enjoyments are the only two fprings of industry, and the only two principles of tocial intercourle among men

THOSE who censure the trade of Europe with India, have only the following reasons to allege against an universal and free intercourse, that it is attended with a confiderable loss of men, that it checks the progress of our industry, and that it leffens our flock of money These objections are

casily obviated

As long as every man shall be at liberty to chuse a profession, and to employ his abilities in any manner most agreeable to himself, we need not be folicitous about his destiny. As in a state of freedom every thing has it's proper value, no man will expose himself to any danger, without expecting an equivalent. In a well regulated fociety, every individual is at liberty to do what is most conformable to his inclination and his intereil, provided it be not inconfistent with the properties and liberties of others A law, that thould probable every trade in which a mea-might endanger his life, would condemn a great part of mankind to flarve, and would deprive fociety of numberless advantages. We need not crois the Line to carry on a dargerous trade, fince, even in Europe, we may find many occupations far more destructive to the human race thin the navigation to India. If the perils atth 6 6 K terlding fea voyages destroy some of our men, let the only give due encouragement to the culture of our lands, and our population will be so much increased, that we shall be better able to spree those self devoted victims who are swallowed up by the sea. To this we may add, that most of those who pensh in long volyages are lost through accidental canses, which might easily be prevented by more wholesome diet and a more regular life. But if men will add, to the vices pretalent in their own climate, and to the corruption of their own manners, those of the countries where they land, liow is it possible that they should resist these united principles of destruction?

LVEN supposing that the India trade should colt Etitopé as many men as it is faid to do, are we certain that this loss is not compensated by the labours to which that trade gives rife, and which encourage and increase our population? Would not the men dispersed upon the several ships continually failing in these latitudes, occupy a place upon land which is now left vacant for others? If we confider attentively the number of people contained in the finall territories of maritime powers, we shall be convinced, that it is not the havigation to Afin, nor even havigation in general, that is detrimental to the population of Europe, but, on the contrary, navigation alone may, pirhaps balance all the causes that tend to the de struction and decrease of mankind Let us now endeavour to femove the fears of those who apprehend that the India trade never leffens the number of our manufactories at home, and the profits arring from them

ADMITTING it true, that it had put a flop to fome of our labouts, it is given into to many mitter. It has introduced into our colonies the culture of fugar, coffee, and indigo. Many of

leads

our manufactures are supported by India filk and h 6 6 k cotton. If Saxony and other countries in Europe make very fine thing; if Valencia manufactures Pekins superior to those of China; if Switzerland imitates the muslins hid worked callicoes of Bengal; if England and France print linens with great elegence; if so many stuffs formerly unknown in our climates, now employ our best artists, are we not indebted to India for all these advantages?

LET us proceed further, and suppose that we are not indebted to Alia for any of our improvements, the confumption we make of it's commodities cannot therefore be detrimental to our industry; for we pay for them with the produce of our own manufactures exported to America." I fell a hundred livres worth of linen to the Spaniard, and fend that money to the East Indies. Another sends the same quantity of the linen itfelf. We both bring home tea. In fact, we are both doing the fame thing; we are changing a hundred livres worth of dinen into tea; the only difference is, that the one does it by two transactions, and the other by a fingle one. Suppose the Spaniard, instead of giving me money, had given me goods that were faleable in India. I Thould not have hirdered our artificers by catrying them thither. Is it not the very fame thing as if I had carried our own produce there? I fail from Europe with the merchandile and manufactures of thy own country; I go to the South Sea, and exchange them for piastres; I carry those piastres to India, and bring home things that are cither useful or agreeable. Have I been the means of reftraining the industry of my country? Far from it, I have extended the confumption of it's produce, and multiplied the enjoyments of my countrymen. The circumstance that mifgoods for goods, my manufactory for their's, my

BOOh leads the oppofers of the India trade is, that the
v piastres are brought over to Europe before they
are critical to Asia But finally, whether the
throney be or be not employed as the intermediate
pledge of exchange, I have either directly or indi
rectly made an exchange with Asia, and barrered

productions for their productions Bur it is objected by some discontented men, that India has at all times swallowed up all the treasures of the universe Ever since chance has taught men the use of metals, say these censurers, they have never ceased to search for them Ava rice, ever restless, has not forsaken these barren rocks, where nature has wifely concealed those infidious treasures Since they were taken out of the bowels of the earth, they have constantly been diffused upon the surface of it, and notwithstanding the extreme opulence of the Romans. and of fo me other nations, they have disappeared from Europe, Africa, and some parts of Alia India hath entirely absorbed them Riches are all taking the fame course, passing on continually from well to east, and never returning therefore for India, that the mines of Peru have been opened, and for the Indians, that the Eu ropeans have been guilty of fo many crimes in America While the Spaniards are lavishing the lives of their flaves in Mexico to obtain filver out of the bowels of the earth, the Banians take still more pains to bury it again. If ever the wealth of Potofi should be exhausted, we must go in fearch for it on the coast of Malabar where we have fent it When we have drained India of it's pearls and fpices, we shall, perhaps, by force of arms recover from them the fums those luxuries have cost us Thus shall our cruelties and ca prices remove the gold and filter into other

climes,

climes, where avarice and superstition will again BOOK bury them under ground.

THESE complaints are not altogether ground-Ever fince the rest of the world have opened a communication with India, they have constantly exchanged gold and filver for arts and commodities. Nature has supplied the Indians '. with the few necessaries they want; their climate will not admit of our luxuries; and their religion gives them an abhorrence for fome things that we feed upon. As their cultoms, manners, and government, have continued the same, notwithstanding the revolutions that have overturned their country, we must not expect they should ever alter. India ever was, and ever will be, what it now is As long as any trade is carried on there. money will be brought in, and goods fent out. But before we exclaim against the use of this trade, we should attend to it's progress, and confider what is the refult of it.

First, it is certain our gold does not go to India. It has gold of it's own, befides a conflant fipply from Monomotapa, which comes by the caftern coaft of Africa, and by the Red Sea; from the Tucks, which is brought by the way of Arabia and Baffora; and from Perfia, which is conveyed both by the ocean and the continent. This enormous mass is never increased by the gold we procure from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, in a word, we are to far from carrying gold to Afia, that for a long while we have carned filver to Chras to barter it against gold.

EVEN the filver which India gets from us is by means 6c confiderable as may be imagined from the immense quantity of India gbods we bring home. The annual sale of these goods has of late years amounted to a hundred and fixty millions.

...

BOOK millions (a) Supposing they have cost but half of what they fold for, eighty millions (h) must have been fent to India to purchase them, besides what must have been fent over for our settlements We shall not scruple to affirm, that, for some time pult, all Europe has not carried thither more than in enty four millions (c) a year Light millions (d) are fent from France, fix (e) from Holland, three (f) from England, three (g) from Denmarl, two (b) from Sweden, and two (r) from Portugal,

This calculation will not appear improbable, if we confider, that though in general India be in no want either of our produce or of our manufactures, yet it receives from us, in iron, lead, copper, avoollens, and other less articles, to the full amount of one fifth of the commodities we buy

This mode of payment is augmented by the produce of the European fettlements in Afra The most considerable are those of the force islands for the Dutch, and of Bengul for the

English

THE fortunes made by the free traders and agents in India contribute also to Jessenithe exportation of our specie. Those industrious men deposit their slock in the coffers of their own country, or of fome other nation, to be reprid them in Europe, whither they all return fooner or later Therefore a part of the India trade is carried on with money got in the country

PARTICULAR events also put us sometimes in possession of the treasures of the East. It is un-

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(c) 1 000 000l
(e) 250 000)
(g) 145 000l
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deniable, that by the revolutions in the Decan and B Q O K Bengal, and by ditpoling of these empires at pleasure. It is evident that the French and the English have obtained the wealth accumulated in these opulent regions for so many ages it is evident that those sums, joined to others less considerable, which the Europeans have acquired by their superior skill and bravery, must have retained a great deal of specie among them, which otherwise would have gone into Asia

THAT rich part of the world has even restored to us some of the treasure we had poured into it. The expedition of Kouli Khan into India is univerfally known, but it is not equally fo, that he wrested from the efferninate and cowardly people of this country upwards of 2,000,000,000 in specie, or in valuable effects. The emperor's palace alone contained inestimable and innumerable treasures. The presence chamber was covered with plates of gold, the cieling was fet with diamonds Twelve pillars of mallive gold, adorned with pearly and precious stoner, furrounded the throne, the canopy of which was remarkably beautiful, and represented a peacock, with wings and tail extended to overshadow the The diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and all the isparkling gems which composed this curious piece of workmanship, perfectly imitated the colours of this beautiful bird. No doubt part of that wealth is returned into India Much of the treature brought to Perha from the conquest of the Mogul, must have been buried under ground during the subsequent vars, but the feveral branches of commerce must certainly have brought fome to Europe, through fuch changels as

<sup>\*8,,333 3331 6</sup>s 8d

BOOK are too well known to make it necessary to specify

ADMITTING that none of these riches have reached us, the opinion of those who condemn the trade of India, because it is carried on with foecie, will not be better supported, which may be easily proved. Gold and silver are not the produce of our foil but of America, and are fent us in exchange for the productions of our own country. If Europe did not remit them to Afia. America would foon be unable to return any to Europe. The too great plenty of it on our continent would so reduce it's value, that the nations who bring it to us could no longer get it from their colonies. When once an ell of linen cloth, which is now worth twenty fols", rifes to a pistole t, the Spaniards cannot buy it of us, to carry it to the country which produces filver. The working of their mines is expensive. When this expence shall-have increased to ten times that fum, and the value of filver is full the fame, the business of working in the mines will be more coftly than profitable to the owners, who will confequently give it up. No more gold and filver will come from the new world to the old; and the. Americans will be obliged to neglect their richest mines, as they have gradually forsaken the less valuable ones This event would have taken place before, if they had not found a way of difpoling of about 3,000,000,000 t in Alia, by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the Philippine islands. Therefore this circulation of money into India, which so many prejudiced persons have hutherto confidered as a ruinous exportation, has been beneficial both to Spain, by supporting the only manufacture she ha h, and to other nations,

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who without it could never have disposed of their B'O O K produce, or of the fruits of their industry. Having V. Thus justified the India trade, we shall next proceed to inquire, whether it has been conducted on

the principles of found policy.

All the nations in Europe, who have failed Whether round the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at the network of the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at the network of the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at the network of the Cape of the Wall of the Wall of the Portuguele, that the who led the way to those wealthy regions, first fet Europeans us the examples of a boundless ambition. Not con-should us the examples of a boundless ambition. Not con-should have large true with having made themselves masters of the establishishands in which the choicest productions were to ments in be found, and erected fortresses wherever they were brder to necessary to secure to themselves the navigation of carry on the East, they aspired also to the authority of the giving laws to Malabar, which, being divided into several petty sovereignties, that were jealous of, or at enmity with each other, was forced to submit to the yoke.

THE Spaniards did not at first shew more inoderation; even before, they had completed the conquest of the Philippine illands, which were to be the center of their power, they strove to extend their dominion further. If they have not since subdued the rest of that immense Archipelago, or filled all the adjacent countries with their enormities, we must look for the cause of their tranquillity in the treasures of America, which have confined their pursuits, though they did not satisfactories.

tisfy their defires.

The Durch deprived the Pentaguese of their most considerable posts on the continent, and drove them out of the spice islands. They have preserved those possessions, and some later acquisitions, only by establishing a form of government, less oppressive than that of the nauons on whose ruins they were rising

Vol. II.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK V. th

370.

K The flowness and irresolution of the French in their proceedings, prevented them for a consideraable time from forming or executing any great, projects. As soon as they, found themselves sufficiently powerful, they availed themselves of the subversion of the power of the Moguls to usurp the

dominion of Coromandel. They obtained by conquest, or by artful negociations, a more extensive

territory than any European power had ever posfessed in Indostan.

The English, more prudent, did not attempt to aggrandize themselves, till they had deprived the French of their acquisitions, and till no rivalnation could act against them. The certainty of, having none but the natives of the country to contend with, determined them to, attack Bengal. This was the province of all India whichassorded most commodities fit for the markets of Asia and Europe, and was likely to consume most of their manusactures: it was also that, which

their fleet could most essentially protect, as it hath the advantage of a great river. They have succeeded in their plan of conquest, and slatter, themselves they shall long enjoy the fruits of, their

victory.

Their fuccesses, and those of the French, have, astonished all nations. It is easy to conceive slow, solitary and defenceles islands, that have no connection with their neighbours, may have been subducd. But it is very astonishing, that five or six, hundred Europeans should at this time have beaten innumerable armies of Gentiles and Mohammedans, most of them skilled in the art of war. These extraordinary scenes, however, ought not to appear surprising to any one who considers what has happened before.

The Portuguese had no sooner appeared in the East, than with a sew ships and a sew soldiers they subverted fubverted whole kingdoms The establishment BOOK of some factories, and the building of a small V. number of forts, was sufficient to enable them to crush the powers of India. When the Indians were no longer oppressed by the first conquerors, they were fo by those who expelled and succeeded them. The hiltory of these delightful regions was no longer the history of the natives, but that of their tyrants

Bur what fingular men must these have been, who never could gather any improvement from experience and advertity; who furrendered themfelves to their common enemy without making any resistance, and who never acquired skill enough from their continual defeats to repulse a few adventurers, cast, as it were, from the sea upon their coasts! It is a matter of doubt whether these men, alternately deceived and subdued by those who attacked them, were not of a different species. To refolve this problem, we need only trace the causes of this weakness in the Indians; and our first inquiry shall turn upon that system of despotism with which they are oppressed.

THERE is no nation, which, as it becomes civilized, does not lose something of it's virtue, courage, and independence; and it is evident that the inhabitants of the fouth of Alia, having been first collected into focieties, must have been the earliest exposed to despotism Such has been the progress of all affociations from the beginning of the world. Another truth, equally evident from hiltory, is, that all arburary power haftens it's own deffruction; and that revolutions will reftore liberty, fooner or later, as they are more or less rapid Indostan is perhaps the only country, in which the ichabitants, after having once loft their rights, have never been able to recover them Tyranis have fre-B b 2

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372 B O O.K quently been destroyed; but tyranny has always supported itself.

Civit flavery has been added in India to political flavery. The Indian is not mafter of his own life; he knows of no law that will protect it from the caprice of the tyrant, or the fury of his delegates. He is not mafter of his own underflanding; he is debarred from all fludies that are beneficial to mankind, and only allowed fuch as tend 'to enflave' him. He is not mafter of his own field: the lands and their produce belong to the fovereign, and the labourer may be fatisfied if

he can earn enough to subsist himself and family. He is not malter of his own industry; every artist, who has had the misfortune to betray some abilities, is in danger of being doomed to ferve the monarch, his deputies, or fome rich man, who

has purchased a right to employ him at pleasure. He is not mafter of his own wealth; he buries his gold under ground, to fecure it from the rapaci-

death, abfutdly imagining it will be of fervice to him in the next world. No doubt this absolute and tyrannical authority, with which the Indian is continually oppressed, must subdue his spirit, and render him incapable of those efforts that

ous hand of power; and leaves it there at his

contage requires. THE climate of Indostan is another impediment to any generous exertions. The indolence it inipites is an invincible obstacle to great revolu-

tions and vigorous oppolitions, fo common in the northern regions. The body and the mindequally enervated, have only the virtues and vices of flavery. In the fecond, or at farthest in the third, generation, Tartars, Turks, Perlians, and even Europeans, contract the flothful disposition of the Indians. These influences of the climate might certainly be subdued by religious or moral

infli-

inflitutions; but the superstitions of the country B O O K will not admit of such exalted views. They never promise future rewards to the generous patriot who falls in his country's cause. While they advise, and sometimes command suicide, by representing in a strong light the alluring prospect of suture happiness, they at the same time strolly forbid the effusion of blood.

This circumstance is a necessary consequence of the doctrine of transmigration, which must in fipric it's followers with constant and universal-benevolence. They are in continual fear of injuring their neighbour, that is, all men and all animals. How can a man reconcile himself to the idea of being a foldier, when he can say, Perhaps the elephant or the horse I am going to destroy may contain the soul of my father—perhaps the enemy I shall kill has formerly been the chief of my samily? Thus, in India, religion tends to keep up the sprift of cowardice which results from desposition and the nature of the climate; the manners of the people contribute still more to increase it.

In every country, love is the ruling passion, but it is not equally strong in every climate. While in their desires, the southern ones indulge in them with a degree of ardour superior to every restraint. The policy of princes has sometimes turned this passion to the advantage of society; but the legislators of India seam to have principally intended to massacke the fatal influence of their ardent climate. The Mogus, the last conquerors of those regions, have proceeded still further. Love is with them a shameful and destructive excess, confectated by religion, by the laws, and by government. The military conduct of the nations of Indostan, whether Pagans or Mohammedans, is consistent with

B O O K their diffolute manners. We shall mention some particulars taken from the writings of an English officer remarkable for his military exploits in those parts

THE foldiers make up the smallest part of the Indian camps. Every trooper is attended by his wife, his children, and two fervants; one to look after his horse, and the other to forage. The train of the officers and generals is proportionable to their vanity, their fortune, and their rank, The fovereign himfelf, more intent upon making a parade of his magnificence than upon the necelfities of war, when he takes the field, carries along with him his fergelio, his elephants, his court, and almost all the inhabitants of his capital. To provide for the wants, the fancies, and the luxury of this strange multitude, a kind of town must of course be formed in the midst of the army, full of magazines and unnecessary articles. The motions of a body fo unwieldy and fo ill-arranged cannot but be very flow. There is great confusion in their marches, and in all their operations. However absternious the Indians, and even the Moguls may be, they often experience a want of provisions; and famine is usually attended with contagious distempers, and occasions a dreadful mortality.

THESE differmers, however, feldom destroy any but recruits. Though, in general, the inhabitants of Indostan affect a strong passion for military glory, yet they engage in war as seldom as they can. Those, who have been so successful in battle as to obtain some marks of distinction, are excused from ferring for some time; and there are sew that do not avail themselves of this privilege. The retreat of these veterans reduces the army to a contemptible body of soldiers, levied in haste in the several

provinces of the empire, and who are utterly un-BOOK

acquainted with discipline.

THE nature of the provisions on which these troops fublift, and their manner of living, is entirely confiftent with this improper mode of railing them. At night they cat a prodigious quantity of rice; and after this meal they take ftrong opiates, which throw them into a deep fleep. Notwithstanding this pernicious custom, no guards are placed about their camp to prevent a surprise; nor is it possible to make a soldier rise early, even to execute any enterprise that may require the greatest disparch.

THE military operations are regulated by birds of prey; of which there are always a great number in the army. If they be found heavy or languid, it is an unfavourable omen, and prevents the army from giving battle; if they be fierce and violent, the troops march out to action, whatever reasons there may be for avoiding or deferring it. This superstition, as well as the observance of lucky and unlucky days, determines the fate of

the best-concerted deligns.

No order is observed in marching. 'Every' foldier goes on as he chooses, and only follows the corps to which he belongs. He is frequently seen carrying his provisions upon his head, with the veffels for drefling them; while his arms are carried by his wife, who is commonly followed by feveral children. If a foot-foldier has any relations, or buliness to transact in the enemy's army, he is under no apprehension in going to it; and returns to join his colours without meeting with the least opposition.

THE action is not better conducted than the preparations for it. The cavalry, in which confifts the whole strength of an Indian army (for the infantry are holden in general contempt), are ufeno 0 k ful enough in charging with the fword and spear, but can never stand the fire of cannon and musquetry. They are afraid of losing their horse, which are mostly Arabian, Persian, or Tartar, and in which their whole fortune confists. The troops that compose this cavalry are in great escent, and well paid: they are so food of their horses, that sometimes they will go into mourning upon losing them.

The Indians dread the enemy's artillery, as much as they confide in their own; though they neither know how to transport it, nor how to make use of it. Their great guns, which are called by pompous names, are generally of a very extraordinary size, and rather prevent than assist the gain-

ing of a victory.

Those who are ambitious of being diflinguished intoxicate themselves with opium, to which they ascribe the property of warming the blood, and of animating them to the performance of heroic actions. In this temporary state of intoxication, they bear a greater resemblance, in their dress and impotent rage, to women actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, than to men of courage and resolution.

The prince who commands these despicable troops is always mounted on an elephant richly capariloned, where he is at once the general and the standard of the whole army, whose eyes are fixed upon him. If he should fly, or he stan, the whole machine is destroyed; the several corps differed.

or go over to the enemy.

This description, which we might have enlarged upon without exaggeration, renders probable the account give en of our fuccesses in Indotan. Many Europeans, judging of what might be effected in the uland parts by what has been done on the coasts, imagine we might fafely undertake the conquest

conquest of the whole country This extreme BOOK confidence arises from the following circumstance. that in places where the enemy could not harrafs their troops in the rear, nor intercept their fuccours, they have overcome timorous weivers and merchants, undisciplined and cowardly armies, weak princes jealous of each other, and perpetually at war with their neighbours or their own subjects They do not consider, that, if they wanted to penetrate into the interior parts, they would all perish before they had proceeded half way up the country The excellive heat of the climate, continual fatigue, numberless diseases, want of provision, and a variety of other causes would foon confiderably diminish their numbers even though they had nothing to ap prehend from those troops that might molest them

WE will suppose, however, that ten thousand European foldiers had actually over-run and ravaged India from one end to the other, what would be the confequence? Would these forces be sufficient to secure the conquest, to keep every nation, every province, every diffrict in order? And if this number be not fufficient, let it be calculated what number of troops would be necessary

for the purpole

Bur let us admit that the conquerors had firmly established their government in India, they would still reap very little advantage from this circum-The revenues of Indoftan would be spent in Indostan itself The European power, that had purfued this project of usurpation, would have experienced nothing but a confiderable decrease in it's population, and the disgrace of having followed a vilionary fystem

Tins, indeed, is now an ufelef question, fince the Europeans themselves have made their sucBOOK cefs in Indostan more difficult than ever. By v. , engaging the natives to take a part in their mutual diffentions, they have taught them the art of war, and trained them to arms and discipline, This error in politics has opened the eyes of the fovereigns of those countries, whose ambition has been excited to establish regular troops. Their cavalry marches in better order; and their infan-try which was always confidered in so despicable a light, has now acquired the firmness of our Battalions. A numerous and well-managed artillery defends, their camps, and protects their attacks. The armies, composed of better troops, and better paid, have been able to keep the field

longer. This change, which might have been foreseen. had the Europeans not been blinded by temporary interest, may in time become so considerable, as to raife unsurmountable obstacles to the defire they have of extending their conquelts in Indoltan, and possibly they may lose those they have already made. Whether this will be a misfortune or an advantage, is what we shall next take into confideration.

WHEN the Europeans first began to trade in that wealthy region, they found it divided into a great many small states, some of which were go. verned by princes of their own nation, and some by Patan kings. Their mutual hatred was the occasion of continual' contests. Beside the wars that were carried on between province and province, there was a perpetual one between every fovereign and his subjects. It was fomented by the tax-gatherers, who, to ingratiate themselves at court, always levied heavier taxes than had been laid on the people. These barbarians aggravated this heavy burden by the oppressions they made the inhabitants fuffer. Their extortions were vino

FROM this anarchy, and these violent proceedings, it was imagined, that, to settle a safe and permanent commerce, it was necessary to support it by the force of arms; and the European sactories were accordingly fortified. In process of time, jealous, which divides the European nations in India, as it does every where else, exposed them to more considerable expences: Each of these foreign nations thought it necessary to augment their forces, less they should be overpowered by their rivals.

The dominion of the Europeans, however, extended no further than their own fortreffes, Goods were brought thither from the inland parts with little difficulty, or with fuch as was eafily overcome. Even after the conquefts of Koult-Kan had plunged the north of Indoftan into confusion, the coast of Coromandel enjoyed it's former tranquillity. But the death of Nizam-al-Muluc, Subah of the Decan, kindled a same which is not yet extinguished.

The disposal of those immense spoils naturally belonged to the court of Debli, but the weakness of that court emboldened the children of Nizam to dispute their father's treasure. To supplant each other, they had recourse alternately to arms, to treachery, to poison, and to assalinations. Most of the adventurers they engaged in their animolities and crimes persisted during these horized transactions. The Marattas alone, a nation who alternately sided with both parties, and often had troops in each, seemed as if they would avail themselves of this anarchy, and invade the fovereignty of the Decan. The Europeans have pretended it was greatly their interest to oppose this

BOOK deep but secret design, and they allege the sollowing reasons in their desence.

THE Marattas, fry they, are thieves, both from education and from their political principles They have no regard to the law of nations, no notion of natural or civil right, and spread desolation wherever they go The most populous dif-tricls are abandoned at the very report of their approach In the countries they have fubdued, nothing is to be feen but confusion, and all the manufactures are destroyed

THE Europeans, who were most powerful on the coast of Coromandel, thought such neighbours would utterly destroy their trade, and they could never venture to fend money by their agents to buy goods in the inland countries, as they would certainly be plundered by these banditti The defire of preventing this evil, which must ruin their fortunes, and deprive them of the benefit of their fettlements, fuggefted to their agents the

idea of a new system

Ir was afferted, that, in the present fituation of Indostan, it was impossible to keep up useful con-nections without a military establishment, that, at fo great a distance from the mother-country. the expence could not possibly be defrayed out of the mere profits of trade, were they ever fo great; that therefore it was absolutely necessary to procure fufficient poffestions to answer these great expences: and confequently, that the possessions must be confiderable

This argument, probably suggested to conceal infattable avarice, or boundlets ambition, and which the passion for conquest may have occafioned to be confidered as a very strong one, may perhaps be a mere illusion. A variety of natural, moral, and political reasons may be urged in opposition to it. We shall only insist upon one, which which is founded upon a fact. From the Portu-BOOK guele, who first attempted to aggrandize themlelves in India, to the English, who close the fatal hist of usures, not one acquisition, however important or trisling, except Bengal and the Spice islands, hith ever paid the expence of taking and supporting it. The more extensive the possessions have been, the greater has been the expence of maintaining them to the ambitious power that had, by whatever means, acquired them.

This is what will always happen Every nation that has obtained a large territory will be defirous of preferring it. It will think there is no fafety but in fortified places, and will conflantly multiply them. This war like app-arance will deter the hufbandman and the artift, who will not expect to enjoy tranquility I he neighbouring princes will grow jealous, and will justly be afraid of falling a prey to a trading nation now become a conquering one In confequence of this, they will be deviling means to ruin an oppreffor, whom they had admitted into their harbours, with no other view than to increase their own treasures and power If they find themfelves under a necessity of entering into a treaty, they will, at the instant of figning, secretly vows the destruction of their new ally Falsehood will be the basis of all their agreements, and the longer they have been forced to diffemble, the more time, they will have had to prepare the means destined to destroy their enemy

The just apprehension of these persides will oblige the usurpers to be always upon their guard. If they are to be defended by Europeans, what a consumption of men for the mother country! what an expence to raise them, to transport them into these countries, to maintain and recruit them!

BOOKIF, from a principle of economy, they content themselves with the Indian troops, what can be expected from a consusce and unprincipled multitude, whose expeditions always degenerate into robbery, and constantly end in a shameful and precepitate slight? Their principles, whether natural or moral, are so weakened, that even the defence of their gods and their own households could never inspire the boldest among them with any thing beyond a sudden and transient exertion of intrepidity. It is not probable that foreign interests, ruinous to their country, should ever animate men whose minds are sunk in indolence and corruption: is it not more probable that they will be ever ready to betray a cause they abhor, and in which they find no immediate and lasting advantage?

vantage?

To these inconveniences will be added a sprit of extortion and plunder, which even in the times of peace will nearly resemble the devastations of var. The agents, intrusted with those remote concerns, will be desirous of making rapid fortunes. The flow and regular profits of trade they will not attend to, but will endeavour to promote speedy revolutions in order to acquire great wealth. They will have occasioned innumerable evils before they can be controuled by authority at the distance of fix thousand leagues. This authority will have no force against millions; or the persons intrusted with it will arrive too late to prevent the fall of an edifice supported on so weak's foundation.

This refult makes it needless to inquire into the nature of the political engagements the Eu-

will forego the rage of conquest, and the flattering B O O K hopes of holding the balance of Alia.

THE court of Dehli will finally link under the weight of intestine divisions, or fortune will raise. up a prince capable of restoring it. The government will remain feudal, or once more become despotic. The empire will be divided into many, independent states, or will be subject only to onemaster. Either the Marattas or the Moguls will: become a ruling power; but the Europeans should. not be concerned in these revolutions; whatever be the fate of Indostan, the Indians will still continue their manufactures, our merchants will purchase them, and sell them again to us.

Ir would be needless to allege, that the spirit: which has always prevailed, in those countries has forced us to depart from their common rules of trade; that we are in arms upon the coasts; that this polition unavoidably obliges us to interferewith the affairs of our neighbours; and that, if we avoid all intercourse with them, such a referve will certainly prove extremely detrimental to our interests. These fears will appear groundless to sensible men, who know that a war in those. distant regions must be still more fatal to the Europeans than to the natives; and that the confequence will be, that we must either subdue the whole, which is scarcely possible, or be for ever expelled from a country where it is our advantage to maintain our connections.

THE love of order and tranquillity would even; make it definable to extend these pacific views: and, far from thinking that great possessions are. necessary, time will probably discover even the inutility of fortified posts. The Indians are naturally gentle and humane, though crushed under the fevere yoke of despotism. The nations, who formerly, traded with them, always commended them 4 11.7

BOOK them for their candour and honefly The Indians are now in a fixte of confusion, equally alarming to them and to us Our ambition has carried discord into all parts of their country, and our rapacioninels has inspired them with intred, sear, and contempt for our continent, they look upon us as conquerors, usurpers, and oppressors, tanguinary and averienous men. This is the character we have acquired in the East. Our examples have increased the number of their national vices, at the same time that we have taught them to be

in guard against our's

Is in our transactions with the Indians we had been guided by principles of probits, if we had them them that mutual advantage is the basis of commerce, if we had encouraged their culti vation and manufactures, by texchanges equally advantageous to both, we flould infentibly have gained their affections If we had fortunately taken care to preferve their confidence in our dealings with them, we might have removed their p ejudices, and, perhaps, changed their form of government We should have succeeded so far as to have lived among them, and trained up civilized nations around us, who would have protected our fettlements for our mutual interests Every one of our establishments would have been to each nation in Europe as their na ive country, where they would have found a fure protection Our fituation in India is the confequence of our profligacy and of the fanguinary fystems we have introduced there The Indians imagine nothing is due to us, because all our actions have shewn. that we did not think ourselves under any ties vith respect to them

This state of perpetual contention is displeasing to most of the Asiatic nations and they ardently wish for a happier change 'The disorder of our

affairs

affairs must have inspired us with the same senti- BOOK ments. If we be all in the same dispositions, and if one common interest should really incline us to peace and harmony, the most effectual way to attain this defirable end would perhaps be, that all the European nations, who trade to India, should agree among themselves to preserve a neutrality in those remote seas, which should/never be interrupted by the diffurbances that so frequently happen on 'our own continent. If we could once confider ourselves as members of one great commonwealth, we should not want those forces which make us odious abroad, and ruinous at home. But, as our present spirit of discord will not permit us to ex-'pect that fuch a change can foon take place, it remains only that we now confider, whether Europe ought still to carry on the commerce of India by charter companies, or to make it a free trade.

Is this question were to be decided upon gene-Whether ral principles, it would be easily answered. If we Europe ask whether, in a state which allows any particular ought to ask whether, in a state which allows any particular open a right to the trade, every citizen has a right to the trade partake of it; the answer is so plain as to leave no or carry it room for discussion. It would be unnatural that on by exsure the word of the answer of the benefits arising from the compact that unites them; they would have cause to complain, that they sustain all the inconveniences of society, and are deprived of the advantages they expected

to receive from it.

On the other hand, political notions are perfectly reconcileable with these ideas of justice. It is well known that freedom is the very foul of commerce, and that nothing else can bring it to perfection. It is generally allowed that competition awakens industry, and gives it all the vigour it is capable of acquiring. Yet, for upwards of Vol. II.

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BOOK a century, the practice has constantly been contradictory to these principles.

ALL the nations of Europe, that trade to India, carry on that commerce by exclusive companies; and it must be confessed, that this practice is plaulible, because it is hardly conceivable that great and enlightened nations should have been under a miliake for above a hundred years on fo important a point, and that neither experience nor argument should have undeceived them. We must conclude, therefore, that either the advocates for liberty have given too great a latitude to their principles, or that the favourers of exclusive privilege have too strenuously afferted the necessity of fuch limitations; possibly, both parties, from too great an attachment to their respective opinions. have been deceived, and are equally diftant from the truth.

EVER fince this famous question has been debated, it has always been thought to be a very fimple one: it has always been supposed that an India company must necessarily be exclusive, and that it's existence was essentially connected with it's privilege. Hence the advocates for a free trade have afferted that exclusive privileges were odious; and, therefore, that there ought to be no company. Their opponents have argued, on the contrary, that the nature of things required a company; and therefore that there must be an exclusive charter. But if we can make it appear that the reasons urged against charters prove nothing against companies in general, and that the circumitances which may render it necessary to have an India company, do not supply any argument in favour of a charter; if we can demonstrate that the nature of things requires, indeed, a powerful affociation, a company for the India trade; but that the exclusive charter is connected only

only with particular causes, insomuch that the BOOK company may exist without the charter; we shall; then have traced the fource of the common error, and found out the folation of the difficulty.

LET us inquire what constitutes the particular nature of commercial transactions. It is the climate, the produce, the distance of places, the form of the government, the genius and manners of the people who are subject to it. In the trade with India, the merchant must undertake a voyage of . . fix thousand leagues in search of the commodities which the country supplies: he must arrive there at a certain feafon, and wait till another for the. proper winds to return home. Therefore every voyage takes up about two years, and the proprietors of the veffels must wait this time for their returns. This is the first and a very material circumffance.

THE nature of a government in which there is neither fafety nor property will not permit the people to have any public marts, or to lay up any stores. Let us represent to ourselves men who are depressed and corrupted by despotism, workmen who are unable to undertake any thing of themselves; and, on the other hand, nature more liberal in her gifts, than power is rapacious, supplying a flothful people with food fufficient for their wants and their defires; and we shall wonder that any industry should be found in India. And indeed it may be affirmed, that scarce any manufacture would be carried on there, if the workmen were not encouraged by ready money, or if the goods were not engaged for a year before they are wanted One-third of the money is paid at the time the work is ordered, another when it is half done, and the remainder on delivery of the goods, From this mode of payment there is a confiderable difference made, both in price and in the quality C c 2

BOOK of the goods, but from hence likewife arifes a necessity of having one's capital out a year longer, that is, three years instead of two. This is an alarming circumstance for a private man, especially if we consider the largeness of the capital that is requisite for such undertakings.

As the charges of navigation and the niks are very great, they cannot be supported without bringing home complete cargoes, that is, cargoes of a million or a million and a half of livres at prime coft in India Where shall we find merchants, or even men possessed of a sufficient capital to enable them to advance fuch a fum, to be reimburfed only at the end of three years? Undoubtedly there are very few in Europe, and among those who might have the power, scarce any would have the will If we confult experience, we shall find that men of moderate fortunes only are the persons who are inclined to run great rifks, in order to make great profits But when once a man is possessed of an ample fortune. he is inclined to enjoy it, and to enjoy it with fecurity The defire of riches cannot indeed be fatisfied by the possession of them, which on the contrary frequently increases it, but, at the same time, the possession of wealth furnishes various means of gratifying that defire without either trouble or danger This opens to our view the necessity of entering into affociations, where a number of men will not scruple to be concerned, because every individual will venture but a small part of his fortune, and will rate the measure of his profits upon the united flack of the whole fociety This necessity will appear still more evident, if we confider how the bulinets of buying

<sup>#</sup> From 41 6661 135 4d to 62 5001

and felling is managed in India, and what precau B O O K

tions it requires. ' '

To make a previous agreement for a cargo, above fifty different agents must be employed, who are dispersed in different parts, at the distance of three, four, and five hundred leagues from each other. When the work is done, it must be examined and measured; otherwise the goods would foon be found faulty, from the want of honesty in the workmen; who are equally corrupted by the nature of their government, and by the influence of crimes of every kind which the Europeans have fet them the example of for these three centuries past !...! ...

Arren all these details, there are still other operations remaining equally necellary: must be whitsters, men to beat the linens, packers, and bleaching-grounds, which must be supplied with pools of water fit for the purpole. It would certainly be very difficult for individuals to attend and to observe all these precautions; but even admitting it possible for industry to effect this, yet it could only be done as long as each of them could keep up a continued trade, and regularly thip off fresh cargoes. All thele particulars are not to be executed in a (hort time, and, not without established connections. Every private man, therefore, Thould be able to fit out a thip annually during three years, that is, to difburfe four millions of livres . This is evidently impossible; and it is plain that fuch an undertaking can only be carried into execution by a fociety.

Bur, perhaps, fome commercial houses will be established in India, on purpose to transact this previous bulinels, and to keep cargoes in readinels for the ships that are to be fent off to Europe

BOOK THIS establishment of trading houses at fix thousand leagues from the mother country, with the immense stock that would be requisite to pay the weavers in advance, feems to be a visionary feheme inconsistent with reason and experience. Can it be ferrously imagined that any merchants, who have already acquired a fortune in Europe, will transmit it to Asia to purchate a stock of mullins, in expectation of thips that, perhaps, may never arrive, or, if they should, may be but few in number, and may not have a fufficient capital to purchase with? On the contrary, we see that every European, who has made a small fortune in India, is defirous of returning home, and, inflead of endeavouring to increase it by those easy methods that private trade and the fervice of the companies offers in that country, he is rather anxious to come and enjoy it with tranquility in his own

Ir other proofs and examples were necessary, we need only attend to what passes in America If we could suppose that commerce, and the hopes of the profits arifing from it, were capable of alluring rich Europeans to quit their native country, it would certainly be in order to fettle in that part of the world which is much nearer than Afia, and where they would find the fame laws and manners as in Europe It might naturally be supposed that the merchants should previously buy up the sugars of the planters, and keep them in readiness to be delivered to the European ships as foon as they arrive, on receiving other commodines in exchange, which they would afterwards fell to the planters when they wanted them. But it is quite the contrary The merchants fettled in America, are nothing more than commillimes or factors, who transact the exchanges between the planters and the Europeans, and are

fo far from being able to carry on any confiderable B O O K trade on their own account; that, when a hip has not mer with an opportunity of disposing of her lading, it is left in truft, on the account of the owner, in the hands of the commillary to whom it was configned. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude, that what is not practifed in-America would still be less so in Asia, where a larger stock would be wanted, and greater difficulties must be encountered. Add to this, that. the supposed establishment of commercial houses. in India would not superfede the necessity of form: ing companies in Europe; because it would be equally necessary to disburse twelve or fifteen hundred thousand livres . for the fitting out of every , thip, which could never return into the flock 'till. the third year at foonest. I Was But

This necessity being once proved in every possible case, it is manifelt that the trade of India; is of such a nature, that very few merchants, if any, can undertake it upon their own capital, or carry it on by themselves, and without the help of a great number of partners. Having demonstrated the necessity of these footestes, we must now endeavour to prove, that their interest and the nature of things would incline them to unite in one and the sure command.

and the same company.

This proposition depends upon two principal reasons: the danger of competition in the purchases and sales, and the necessity of affortments.

THE competition of buyers and fellers reduces the commodities to their just value. When the competition of fellers is greater than that of buyers, the goods fell for lefs than they are worth; and when there are more buyers than fellers, their BOOK price is raised beyond their ordinary value. Let

When we suppose that this trade will extend in proportion to the number of private ships sent there, we are not aware that this multiplicity will only increase the competition on the side of the bayers; swhereas it is not in our power to increase it on the side of the sellers. It is just the same as if we were to advise a number of traders to bid over one another, in order to obtain their goods at a cheaper rate.

- THE Indians scarce make any consumption of -The Indians tearce make any contumption of the produce either of, our lands or 'manufactures.' They have few wants, little ambitton,' and no great fhare of unduftry. They would, readily dippense with the gold and filver of America, which is fo far from procuring them any enjoyments, that it only serves to support the tyranny under which they are oppressed. Thus, as all objects of exchange have no value but in proportion to the wants or the fancy of the exchangers, it is evident that in India our commodities are worth very little, while those we buy there are of great value. As long as no Indian ships come into our harbours to carry away our stuffs and our metals, we may venture to affirm, that those people are in no want of us, and will consequently make their own terms in all their dealings with us Hence it follows, that the greater number there are of European merchants who are concerned in this trade, the more the produce of India will rife, and our own fink, in value, and that at last it will be only by immense exports that we shall be able to pro-cure any Indian goods. But if, in consequence of this order of things, each particular fociety be obliged to export more money, without bring-ing home more goods, it's trade must be very disaddisadvantageous, and the same competition that BOOK began it's ruin in Asia will complete it in Europe; V. because the number of seilers being then greater, while that of buyers still continues the same, the focieries will be obliged to fell at a lower price, af-

ter having bought at an 'advanced one. THE article of affortments is not of less confequence." By affortments is meant the combination of all the feveral forts of commodities that the different parts of India produce; a combination which is proportioned to the present plenty or scarcity of each kind of commodity in Europe: 'On this chiefly depends the success and all the profits of the trade. "But nothing would be more difficult in the practice for private focieties than this affortment. How, indeed, should these small societies. unconnected with each other; whose interest it is to conceal their mutual transactions, acquire the knowledge that is requisite for this important purpose ? How could they direct such a multitude of agents as must be employed? It is plain that the' fapercargoes and commissaries, incapable of general views; would be all asking for the same fort of goods at the same time, in hopes of making a greater profit. This would of course enhance the price of that article in India, and lower it in Europe, to the great detriment of the owners, and of the nation in general.

ALL these confiderations would certainly be perceived by the captains of thips and by the men of property, who would be folicited to enter into thefe; focieties. They would be discouraged by the fear of having a competition with other focieties, either in the purchase, the sale, or the making up of the affortments. "The number of these societies would foon be reduced, and trade, instead of extending, would constantly decline, and at last be entirely loft.

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BOOK. It would, therefore, be for the interest of these viruate societies, as we have before observed, to unite together; because then all their agents, both on the coast of Coromandel, and on that of Malabar and in Bengal, being united and directed by one consistent system, would jointly labour in the several factories to collect proper assortions to the cargoes that were to be sent away from the chieffactory, so that the whole should make a complete affortment when brought home, being collected upon an uniform plan, and proportioned according

to the orders and instructions sent from Europe.

Bur it would be in vain to expect that any such muon could take place without the affishance of government. In some cases, men require to be encouraged; and it is chiefly, as in the present instance, when they are a fraid of being denied that protection which they stand in need of, or apprehensive that favours may be granted to others, which may be injurious to them. Government would find it their interest to encourage this association, as it is certainly the furest, if not the only way, to procure, at the most reasonable prices, the india goods that are wanted for home consumption, and for exportation. This truth will appear more straking from a very simple instance.

Let us suppose a merchant, who freights a ship for India with a considerable stock. Will he commission everal agents at the same place to buy the goods he wants? This cannot reasonably be supposed; because he will be sensible, that, each of them endeavouring to execute his orders with as much secrecy as possible, they would necessary injure one another, and must consequently enhance the price of the goods; so that he would have a less quantity of the commodity for the same sum than if he had employed but one agent. The

application is easy, government is the merchant, EOOK

and the company is the agent.

We have now proved only that in the India' trade, the nature of things requires that the fubrects of one country should unite into one company, both for their own interest and for that of the state, but nothing has yet appeared, from whence it can be inferred that this company must be an exclusive one. We imagine, on the contrary, that the exclusive privilege always granted to these companies depends on patticular causes, which have no effential connection with this trade.

WHEN the several nations in Europe began to find that it was their interest to take a part in the trade of India, which individuals refused to do. though none were excluded from it, they found 'themselves under a necessity of forming companies, and giving them every encouragement that fo difficult an undertaking required. Capitals were advanced to them, they were invested with all the attributes of fovereign power, permitted to fend ambaffadors, and empowered to make peace and war, a fatal privilege which, unfortunately for them and for mankind, they have too often exer-It was found necessary at the same time to fecure to them the means of indemnifying themfelves for the expences of fettlements, which must be very confiderable. This gave rife to exclusive privileges, which at first were granted for a term of years, and afterwards made perpetual, from circumftances which we shall now explain

The brilliant prerogatives granted to the companies, were, in fact, fo many impediments to trade. The right of having fortrefles, implied the necessity of building and defending them; that of, having troops implied the obligation of paying and recruiting them. It was the fame with regard to the permission of fending ambassadadors, and concluding these privileges were attended with expenses merely of parade, fit only to check the progress of
trade, and to intoxicate the agents and factors fort
by the comprnies into India, who on their arrival fancied themselves sovereigns, and asted ac-

cordingly. NATIONS, however, found it very convenient to have fome kind of fettlements in Alia, which apparently were attended with no coff; and as it was reafonable, while the companies bore all the expences, that all the profits fliould be fecured to them, the privileges have been continued. But if the feveral nations, instead of attending only to this pretended ecconomy, which could be but temporary, had extended their views to futurity, and connected all the events which must naturally be brought about in the course of a number of years; they must have foreseen that the expences of fovereignty, which can never be afcertained. because they depend upon numberless political contingencies, would in time absorb both the profits and the Rock of a trading company; that then the public treasury must be exhausted, to assist the characted company; and that this affiftance, being granted too late, could only remedy the muchiefs that had already happened, without removing the cause of them; so that the companies would never rife to any degree of importance.

Bur why should not states at length be undeceived? Why should they not take upon themselves a charge which probably belongs to them, and the burden of which, after having crushed the companies, must finally fall upon them? There would be then no further need of an exclusive privilege.? The companies which subsist at present, and are of great importance on account of their old connections and established credit, would be

**fupported** 

supported with the greatest care. The appearance BOOK of monopoly would vanish for ever, and their freedom might enable them to purfue fome new .

track, which they could not think of while they were incumbered with the charges annexed to the charter. On the other hand, commerce, being open to all the members of the community, would prosper and flourish by their industry, new discoveries would be attempted, and new enterprises formed. The trade, from one part of India to another, having the certainty of a market in Europe, would become confiderable and extensive. The companies, attentive to these improvements, would regulate their dealings by the success of pri-

vate trade; and this emulation, which would not be injurious to any individual, would be beneficial to the several states. WE apprehend this fystem would tend to reconcile all interefts, and would be confiftent with all

principles. It feems to be liable to no reasonable objection, either on the part of the advocates for the exclusive charter, or of those who contend for

a free trade.

Ir the former should affert, that the companies, without the exclusive charter, would have but a precarious existence, and would soon be ruined by private traders: I should answer them, that they were not fincere, when they affirmed that private trade could never succeed. For, if it could poffibly occasion the ruin of that of the companies, as they now pretend, it can only effect this by engroffing every branch of their trade against their will, by a superiority of powers, and by the ascendent of liberty. Belides, what is it that really con-

flitutes our companies? It is their stock, their fhips, their factories, or their exclusive charter. What is it that has always ruined them? Extravá-. gant expences, abuses of every kind, visionary un-O 42 77 4

dertakings;

BOOK dertakings; in a word, bid administration, far more destructive than competition. But if the distribution of their powers be made with prudence and occonomy, if the spirit of property direct their operations, their is no obstacle which they cannot surmount, no success which they may not expect.

But would not this faces give umbrage to the advocates for freedom? Would they not in their turn urge, that those rich and powerful companies would alarm private men, and in some measure destroy that general and absolute freedom which is

fo necessary to trade?

We should not be surprised at this objection from them; for men, both in their actions and opinions, are more commonly guided by fystem than by facts. I do not except from this error the greatest part of our writers upon revenue. Commercial and civil liberty are the two tutelar deities of mankind, which we all reverence as well as they. But, that we may not be influenced by mere words, let us attend to the idea they are meant to convey. Let us ask those enthusiasts for liberty, what they would wish; whether they would have the laws entirely abolish those ancient companies, that every citizen might freely partake of this trade, and should equally have the same means of procuring the enjoyments of life, and the fame resources to raise a fortune? But if such laws, with all their appearance of liberty, are in fact totally exclusive, let us not be induced by this false reafoning to adopt them. When the state allows all it's members to carry on a trade that requires a large flock, and which confequently very few are able to undertake; I would ask, what advantage arifes to the people in general from this regulation? It feems as if one meant to laugh at their credulity, in permitting them to undertake what they cannot execute. If the companies should be totally suppreffed, pressed, there will be no India trade, or it will be B O O K only carried on by a few capital merchants.

I WILL go further fill, and, waving the con-

fideration of the exclusive charter, venture to affirm that the India companies, from the nature of their formation, have given opportunities to feveral people to become sharers in their trade, who would otherwise never have been concerned in it. Let us take a review of the number of persons, in all stations, and of all ages, that are proprietors. and partake of the profits of the trade, and it must be owned, that it would have been far more circumscribed if it had been in private hands; that the formation of companies has only diffused while it feemed to reftrain it; and that the moderate price of the shares must be a powerful motive to the people, to wish for the preservation of an establishment, which opens to them a track from which they would for ever have been excluded by a free trade. WE believe, indeed, that both companies and

We believe, indeed, that both companies and private men might equally fucceed without injuring one another, or creating any mutual jealoufies. The companies might fill purfue those great objects, which, by their nature and extent, can only be managed by a wealthy and powerful association, Private men, on the contrary, would confine themselves to such objects as are scarcely attended to by a great company, but might, by proper economy, and the combination of many small fortunes, become a source of riches to them.

STATLSMEN, who by their talents are called to the direction of public affairs, must determine this point, and rectify the ideas of an obscure cutzen, who may have been misled by his want of experience. The steen of politics cannot too soon nor too deeply be applied to regulate a trade which so essentially concerns the sate of nations, and will

## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK probably always be an object of the greatest im-

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To put an end to all intercourse between Europe and India, that luxury, which has made such rapid progress in our part of the world, should be banshed from every state. Our effeminacy should not create a thousand wants unknown to our fore fathers. The rivassinje of trade should no longer agitate the several nations who vie with each other in amassing riches. Such a revolution should take place in the manners, customs, and opinions of men, as is never likely to happen. Our actions should be regulated according to the principles of nature, which we feem to have abandoned for ever.

SUCH are the last reflections suggested to us with respect to the connections of Europe with Asia; let us now turn our thoughts to America.

## B O O K VI

Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico; and settlements of the Spaniards in that part of the New World.

A NCIENT history presents a magnificent BOOK feene to our view. The successive representation of great revolutions, heroic manners, parallel of and extraordinary events, will become more and ancient more interesting, the more uncommon it is to and momeet with incidents that bear any resemblance to ry. The period of founding and of subverting empires is past. The man, before whom the world was filent, is no more. The feveral nations of the earth, after repeated shocks, after all the struggles between ambition and liberty, seem at length totally reconciled with the wretched tranquillity of fervitude. Battles are now fought. with cannon, for the purpole of taking a few towns, and of gratifying the caprices of a few powerful men: formerly they were fought with the fword, in order to overthrow and to establish kingdoms, or to avenge the natural rights of mankind. The history of the world is become infipid and trifling; and yet men are not become more happy. A regular and conflant lyftem of oppression has succeeded to the tumults and storms of conquest; and we behold, with a degree of indifference, the various ranks of flaves affaffinating each other with their chains, for the amusement of their mafters.

EUROPE, that part of the globe which has most influence over the rest, seems to have fixed itself Vol. II. Dd on

BOOK on a folid and durable foundation It is composed of communities that are almost equally powerful, enlightened, extensive, and jealous They will increach perpetually upon each other, and, in the midft of this continued fluctuation, fome will be extended, others more limited, and the balance will alternately incline to different fides, without ever being entirely destroyed The fanaticism of religion, and the spirit of conquest, those two disturbers of the universe, operate no longer as they have done That facred lever, whose ex tremity was attached to the earth, and whose center of motion was in heaven, is now broken, or much weakened and kings begin to discover, not for the happiness of their people, which con-cerns them little, but for their own private interest, that the object of the first importance is to obtain riches and fecurity Hence large armies are kept up, frontiers are fortified, and trade is encouraged

A SPIRIT of batter and exchange hath artfen it Lurope, that feers to open a vaff feene of fpecu lation to individuals, but is only conflictin with peace and tranquillity. A war, among commercial nations, it a conflagration that deftroy: them all. The time is not far off, when the fanction of government will extend to the private engagements between fubjects of different nations, and when those bankruptees, the effects of which are felt at immense diffances, will be come concerns of government. In these mercantle states, the discovery of an island, the importation of a new commodity, the invention of sometical machine, the construction of a port, the elabilimment of a factory, the carrying off a branch of trade from a rival nation, will all become transctions of the utimost importance, and the annals of nations must hereaster be written by commer

cial philosophers, as they were formerly by hiltori-BOOK cal orators.

The discovery of a new world was alone sufficient to furnish matter for our curiosity. A valt continent, entirely uncultivated, human nature reduced to the mere animal state, fields without harvests, treasures without proprietors, societies without policy, and men without manners, what an interesting and instructive spectacle would these have formed for a Locke, a Bussion, or a Mon-

harvefts, treasures without proprietors, societies without policy, and men without manners, what an interesting and instructive spectacle would these have formed for a Locke, a Buffon, or a Montesquieu! What could have been so associations, as an account of their voyage! But the image of rude unpolished nature is already disfigured. We shall endeavour to collect the seatures of it, though now half essaced, as soon as we have described, and delivered up to the execution of posterity, those rapacious and cruel Christians, whom chance unfortunately conducted to this other hemisphere.

BOOK HERE, we have an instance of the weaker sex

being employed in the most laborious occupations of life, either favage or civilized; the young girl, holding in her delicate hands the inftrument of hufbandry; and her mother, perhaps with child of fecond or third infant, bending her body over the plough, and thrusting the plough share or the spade into the bosom of the earth during the most excessive heats. If I am not deceived, this plicenomenon will appear to a man who reflects, one of the most associated a man that the fingular annals of our species. It would be difficult to find a more striking example of what respect for national customs can effect; for there is less herosim in exposing one's life, than in devoting it to constant fatigue. But if such be the power of men collected together over the minds of women, how much greater would that of women, in a collective body, be over the hearts of men.

Such was the fituation of Spain, when the Carthaginians turned their rapacious views upon a country filled with riches, which were unknown to it's inhabitants These merchants, whose ships covered the Mediterranean, introduced themfelves as friends, who came to barter feveral or-ticles of convenience against metals that' were thought to be useless. The temptations of a trade fo advantageous in appearance, feduced the Spamards to powerfully, that they permitted thefe republicans to build upon their coasts houses for their occasional residence, magazines for the secuirity of their merchandise, and temples for the exercise of their religion. These establishments infentibly became fortified places, of which this power, whose policy was superior to it's military skill, availed itself to enflave a credulous people, who were always divided among themselves, and

always irreconcileable in their enmities. By BOOK

bribing fome, and intimidating others, Car-thage fucceeded in subduing Spain, and even effected this with Spanish soldiers and Spanish wealth.

WHEN the Carthaginians were become mafters of the most extensive and most valuable part of this fine country, they feemed either to be ignorant of the means of establishing their dominion there, or to neglect them. Instead of continuing to appropriate to themselves the gold and silver, with which the conquered nations were abundantly supplied from their mines, by exchanging commodities of little value for those metals, they chose to seize them by force. Nor was this spirit of tyranny confined to the body of the republic; it also influenced the generals, the officers, the pri- vate men, and even the merchants. The violence of these proceedings threw the conquered provinces into a state of despair, and excited in those which were yet free, an extreme aversion for so intolerable a yoke. In this fituation they all of them refolved to accept of affiftance, as fatal to them as their misfortunes were opprellive. Spain became a theatre of jealoufy, ambition, and hatred, between Rome and Carthage.

THE two commonwealths contended with great obstinacy for the empire of this beautiful part of Europe; and, perhaps, it would finally have belonged to neither of them, if the Spaniards had communed quiet spectators of the contest, and lest the rival nations time to destroy each other. But they chose to become actors in the bloody scene, and thus reduced themselves to be slaves to the Romans; in which state they remained till the fifth . century.

In a thort time the degeneracy of those masters of the world, inspired the favage nations of the 405

BOOK north with the enterprifing idea of invading the provinces that were ill-governed and ill-defended. The Suevi, the Alani, the Vandals, and the Goths, passed the Pyrenean mountains. These barbarians, being robbers by prosession, were incapable of becoming citizens, and made war upon 'each

other. The Goths, superior in abilities or good fortune, subdued the rest, and reduced all the kingdoms of Spain into one; which, notwithstanding the desects in it's constitution, and the unbounded extortions of the Jews, who were the only merchants, supported itself till the commencement of the eighth century.

Ar this period, the Moors, who had fubdued Africa with that impetuofity which was the characteriftic of all their enterprises, croffed the fea. They found in Spain a king deflitute of virtue and abilities; a multitude of courtiers, and no fatefinen; foldiers devoid of courage, and generals without experience; an effeminate people, holding the government in contempt, and disposed to change their master; and they also found rebels, who joined them for the fake of plundering, burning, and massacing all that opposed them. In lets than three years, the fovereignty of the Christians was destroyed, and that of the infidels established upon a folid foundation.

SPAIN was indebted to it's conquerors for the first principles of taste, humanity, politeness, and philosophy; 'as also for introducing into the country several arts, and a considerable trade. These brilliant prospects were not of long duration. They were soon dissipated by the numberless seets that arcse among the conquerors, and the irreparable fault they committed in establishing distinct so vereigns in all the principal towns of their dofflinions.

DURING this time, the Goths, who, to screen BOOK themselves from the power of the Mohammedans, had fought an afylum in the extremity of the Afturias, were labouring under the yoke of anarchy, plunged in a barbarous state of ignorance, oppressed by their fanatical priests, languishing under inexpressible poverty, and perpetually harassed by civil wars Under the influence of these calamities, far from thinking to avail themselves of the divisions subsisting among their enemies, they were fufficiently happy in being forgotten, or in not being known by them. But as foon as the crown, which was orginally elective, became hereditary in the tenth century; as foon as the nobility and bishops became incapable of disturbing the state; and that the people, raised from slavery, were admitted to a share of the government; the national spirit began to revive. The Arabians, attacked on every fide, were fuccessively stripped of their conquefts; and at the end of the fifteenth century they had but one little kingdom remaining.

they engaged with a power that could have united, in one common center, the conquests it gained over them. But the revolution was not effected in this manner. The Mohammedans were attacked by different chiefs, each of which was at the head of a difting state. Spain was divided into as many kingdoms as it contained provinces: and it was not till after a long time, several successions, wars, and revolutions, that these small states were at last united in the two monarchies of Castile and Arragon. At length, the marriage of Isabella with Perdinand having happily joined all the crowns of Spain into one family, they found themselves equal to the enterprise of attacking the kingdom of Granada.

THEIR fall would have been more rapid, had

40<sup>8</sup>, B O O K VI.

This state, which scarcely occupied one-eighthpart of the peninsula of Spain, had always been in a stouishing condition from the time of the invasion of the Saracens, but it's prosperity had increased in proportion as the successes of the Christians had induced a greater number of infidels to take refuge there. It consisted of threemillions of inhabitants. Throughout the rest of Europe there were no lands so well cultivated; manufactures so numerous and improved; so regular and so extensive a navigation. The public revenues amounted to seen millions of luvres; a prodigious sum at a time when gold and silver were very scarce.

These feveral advantages, far from deterting the monarchs of Caftile and Arragon from invading Granda, were the motives that principally urged them to the enterprife. They were obliged to carry on a ten years bloody war, in order to fubdue this flourishing province. The conquest of it was completed by the surrender of the capital in

the beginning of January, 1492.

Columbus forms the delign of discovering Ametica.

It was in these glorious circumstances, that Christopher Columbus, a man of obscure birth, whose knowledge of aftronomy and navigation was far superior to that of his cotemporaries, proposed to the Spaniards, who were happy at home, to aggrandize themselves abroad. He was led by a secret impulse to imagine that another continent certainly existed, and that he was the person defined to discover it. The idea of Antipodes, which superstition and condemned as herencal and impious, and reason intell had treated as chimerical, appeared to this penetrating genius to have it's foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the greatest that ever entered into the human mind,

took strong possession of his imagination; and, BOOK having in vain proposed the acquistion of a new hemisphere to his native country Genoa, to Portugal, where he then resided, and even to England, which he might have expected would readily have concurred in any mantime enterprise, he at last communicated his views and his projects to labella

. THE ministers of this princess, who looked upon theifcheme of discovering a new world as the offspring of a distempered brain, treated the author of it for some time with those airs of contemptuous infolence, which men in office often put on with those who have nothing but genius to recommend them. But Columbus was not to be discouraged by any difficulties; he possessed, as all men do who engage in extraordinary enterprifes, a degree of enthulialm, which renders them superior to the cavils of the ignorant, the contempt of the proud, the mean arts of the covetous, and the delays of the indolect. At length, by perfeverance, spirit, and courage, joined to the arts of prudence and management, he furmounted every obstacle. Having obsained threefmall vessels, and ninety men, he fet fail on the third of August 1492, with the title of admiral and viceroy of the islands and territories he should discover, and arrived at the Canarias, where it was his intention to call anchor.

These islands, fituated at the difference of five Cole hundred miles from the coasts of Spain, and of a fails hundred miles from the coasts of Africa, are the feven in number. They were known to the particular of the fortunate Islands and the most watern part of this small lives at the most watern part of this small water lived in the fecond century of the Christian callabilitied a first meridian; from whence we have the coast of the meridian; from whence we have the coast of the meridian; from whence we have the coast of the meridian; from whence we have the coast of the meridian; from whence we have the coast of the meridian; from whence we have the meridian is the meridian of the meridian o

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410 BOOK computed the longitudes of all the places, the geographical polition of which he determined. According to the judicious remark of three French

astronomers, who have published so curious and fo instructive an account of a voyage in 1771 and 1772, he might have chosen Alexandria for this purpofe: but he was apprehensive, without doubt, that this predilection for his country might be imitated by others, and that some confusion might arise from these variations, The plan

which this philosopher adopted, of taking for his first meridian, that which appeared to leave to the east of it all the part of the world then

known, was generally approved, and followed for feveral centuries. It is only in modern times, that several nations have improperly substituted to this meridian, that of the capital of their own empire. The habit that had been contracted of repeating the name of the Fortunate Mands, did not

prevent them from being totally neglected. Some navigators had certainly reconnoitred anew thefe pagan territories, fince, in 1344, the court of Rome gave the property of them to Louis de la.

Cerda, one of the Infants of Castile. Obstinately thwarted by the head of his family, this prince had never yet been able to avail himfelf of this extraordinary liberality, when Bethencourt went from Rochelle, on the 6th of May 1402, and two months after, feized upon Lancerota. It being impossible for him to proceed any farther with the forces he had remaining, this adventurer determined to pay homage to the king of Castile of all the conquells he should make. With the faccours furnished him by this monarch, he seized upon Fuerteventura in 1404, upon Gomera in 1405, and upon the ifle of Ferro in 1406. Canary, Palma, and Teneriffe, did not fibmit till 1483, 1492, and 1496. This Archipelago, by BOOK the name of the Canary Islands, has ever fince, made part of the Spanish dominions, and has been governed by the laws of Castile.

THE Canaries enjoy the advantage of a sky that is generally the ference. The heat is great on the coasts; but the air is agreeably temperate upon the places that are a little ligher; and too cold upon some of the mountains that are covered

with fnow the greatest part of the year.

· · ALL, or nearly all the fruits and animals of the Old and of the New World, thrive upon the different kinds of foil in these islands. furnish oils, some silk, a great deal of perella , and a confiderable quantity of fugar, inferior to that which comes from America. The corn they fupply is most commonly sufficient for the confumption of the country, and, without mentioning liquors of an inferior kind; their exports in wine amount annually to ten or twelve thousand pipes of malmfey.

In 1768, the Canaries reckoned one hundred and fifty-five thousand one hundred and fixty-fix inhabitants, exclusive of five hundred and eight clergy, nine hundred and twenty-two monks, and feven hundred and forty-fix nuns. Twenty-'nine thousand eight hundred of these inhabitants were embodied into a regiment. These militia were nothing at that period; but they have fince been a little disciplined, as well as all the troops in

the other Spanish colonies.

ALTHOUGH the audience, or superior tribunal of justice be in the island particularly called Canary, yet the island of Teneriffe, which is known by it's volcanos, and by a mountain which, according to the latest and best observations, riles

<sup>\*</sup> A fungous substance from which a red dye is extrasted

BOOK one thouland nine hundred and four toiles above the level of the fea, is confidered as the capital of the Archipelago. It is the most extensive, the richest, and the most populous. It is the residence of the governor-general, and the feat of administration. The traders, who are almost all English or Americans, make their purchases in it's harbour of Sainte Croix, and take in their cargoes there.

THE money which these merchants bring to the islands, feldom circulates in them. It is not carried off by the imports, fince they confift only in the monopoly of tobacco, and a tax of fix per cent. on all exports and imports: inconsiderable resources, which must be absorbed by the expences of fovereignty. If the Canaries fend annually fifteen or fixteen hundred thousand livres to the mother-country, it is for the superstition of the crusades: it is for one half, of the first year's salaries paid, to the crown, by those who have obtained any post under government: it is for the droit des lances, substituted throughout the whole empire, to the obligation formerly imposed upon all titled persons, of following the king to war: it is for one third of the revenue of the bishoprics, which, in whatever part of the world they may be, belongs to the government : it is for the produce of the lands acquired or preserved by some families reliding in Spain: in a word. it is to defray the expences of those, who by a reftless disposition, ambition, or the desire of acquiring knowledge, are prompted to quit the Archipelago.

So confiderable an exportation of specie has kept the Canaries constantly exhausted. They would have emerged from this fituation, had they

<sup>\*</sup> From 62,500l. to 66,666l. 135. 4d.

been fuffered peaceably to enjoy the liberty which, B Q O K in 1657, was granted them, of fitting out every year for the other hemisphere, five ships laden with a thousand tons of provisions or merchandife Unfortunately, the restraints put upon this trade at Cadiz, gradually reduced it to the fending of one very small vessel to Caracca. This tyranny is drawing to an end, and we shall speak of it's decline, after we have accompanied Columbus to the great scene upon which his genius and courage are going to be displayed.

On the fixth of September, the admiral quitted

Gomera, where his too feeble veffels had been repaired, and his provisions renewed he then abandoned the track purfued by preceding navigators. and directed his course westward, in order to get

into an unknown ocean

In a little time, the ship's crews, terrified at the idea of the immense tract of sea that separated them from their native country, began to express their fears They murmured, and the most violent of the mutineers proposed several times that they should throw the author of their danger overboard His most zealous adherents were even without hope, and he had now nothing to expect either from severity or mildness: The admital then spake to them in the following terms If the land does not appear in three days time, I give myself up to your resentment. The speech was bold, but not rain

For fome time past, on founding, he had found a bottom, and from other circumstances, which are feldom decentful, he had reason to conclude that he was not far from the object of his **b**ամաւ

THE New World was discovered in the month Arrival of October Columbus landed on one of the Columb Lucayas, or Bahama islands, which he called San- World

Salvador.

414 BOOK Salvador, and took possession of it in the name of

Isabella. No European at that time imagined that there could be any injustice in seizing upon a

country which was not inhabited by Christians.

The islanders on seeing the ships, and a race of men fo different from themselves, were terrified. and ran away. The Spaniards caught fome of them, treated them with great civility, and dif-

miffed them loaded with prefents.

. This behaviour entirely diffipated the fears of the whole nation; the inhabitants appeared upon the shore without arms. Several of them came on board. They viewed every thing with admi-ration. Their manners were free and open They brought fruits. They affifted the Spaniards in getting on shore, by taking them upon their shoulders. The inhabitants of the neighbouring islands shewed the same obliging disposition. The failors, fent by Columbus to make difcoveries, every where met with the kindest recep-tion. Men, women, and children, were employed in procuring provisions for them. They filled the hammocks where they flept with the finest

TELL me, reader, whether thele were civilized people landing among favages, or favages among civilized people? Of what consequence was it that they were naked: that they dwelt in the midft of the forests, and lived under huts; that there was neither a code of laws among them, nor civil or criminal juffice, provided they were mild, humane, beneficent, and poffessed all the virtues that diftinguish the human species? Alas! people with the same behaviour would have met with the same reception every where. Let us forget, if it be possible, the instant of this discovery, this first interview between two worlds, or

rather let us recall it to our memory, only to in-BOOK crease our detestation of the one we inhabit.

But it was gold the Spaniards wanted, and they foon found it. Several of the favages wore ornaments made of this precious metal, which they prefented to their new gueffs, who on their part were more difgusted with the naked appearance and simplicity of these people, than touched with their kindness. They were incapable of discerning in them the genuine characters of nature. Surprised to find men of a copper colour without beards or hair on their bodies, they looked upon them as a race of imperfect animals, who wate only to be treated with humanity, till the necessary information was obtained in regard to the neighbouring countries, and the seat of the gold mines.

Having taken a view of feveral smaller islands, The Spa-Columbus landed on the north side of a large one mark their called by the natives Hayti, to which he gave first series the name of Hispaniola, and which is now called men in San Domingo, he was conducted thither by some America lavages of the other islands, who accompanied mingo him without the least district, and gave him to Manners understand, that it was the great island which sur-habitants nished them with the metal the Spaniards were so of the inand.

The filand of Hayti, which is two hundred leagues in length, and fixty, and in fome places eighty, in breadth, is divided from east to west by a chain of mountains, which occupy the center of the island, and are for the most part steep. It was distributed into sive populous kingdoms, the inhabitants of which lived in perfect amily. Their kings, who were called Caciques, were so much the more absolute, as they were much beloved. The complexion of these people was much fairer than that of those in the other islands.

They

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BOOK They painted their bodies. The men went quite naked. The women wore a kind of cotton pet-ticoat, which reached no further than their knees. The girls, as well as the men, were naked. Their food was maize, roots, fruit, and shell-fish. As they were temperate, nimble, and active, but not ftrong, they were averse from labour. They lived free from care in a state of agreeable indolence. Their time was spent in dancing, diverfion, and fleep. By the accounts the Spaniards give of them, they shewed little marks of understanding; and indeed islanders, who live in a state of separation from the rest of mankind, must of necessity have very confined ideas. Detached focieties arrive at improvement by flow and difficult advances. They derive no advantages from those discoveries, which time and experience throw in the way of other people: neither do the chances of acquiring knowledge occur to frequently among them. THE Spaniards, themselves confess, that these

The Spaniards, themfelves confefs, that these people were humane, void of malice and revenge, and almost divested of any passion whatever. They were ignorant, but shewed no desire of being informed. This indistreence, and the confidence they reposed in strangers, prove that they were happy. Their hustory, and their notions of morality, were contained in a collection of longs, which they learn from their infancy; and they had, in common with all nations, some sables concerning the origin of the human race.

ing the origin of the human race.
We know little of their religion, to which they
were not much attached; and it is probable that
in this respect, as well as in many others, they have
been calumniated by the authors of their destruction; who pretend that these islanders, whose
manners were so gentle, paid adoration to a number of malevolent beings. The worthippers of a
malevolent

malevolent deity can never be good themselves. B O O K. But of what consequence were their deities or their mode of worship? Did they question the strangers upon the subject of their religion? Or was their belief a motive of curiosity, hatted, or contempt for them? They were the Europeans, who conducted themselves as if they had been advised by the dæmon of the slanders; and the islandets behaved as if they had obeyed the Deity of the Europeans.

They had no law that limited the number of their wives. It was common for one of them to have some privileges and distinctions allotted to her; but these gave her no authority over the reft. She was the one whom the hufband loved the best, and 'by whom he thought himself best beloved. On the death of her husband, she sometimes caused herself to be buried in the same grave with him. This was not a cultom, a duty, or a point of honour, among these people; but the wife found it impossible to survive the object of her tenderest affection. This freedom in love and marriage, which was authorized by their laws and manners, was by the Spaniards called debauchery, licentioniness, and vice: and to the pretended excellive indulgence of the islanders in this particular, they attributed the origin of a difgraceful and destructive disease, which is generally thought to have been unknown in Europe before the discovery of America.

These illanders had no other weapon than a bow and arrows made of wood, the point of which being hardened in the fire was fometimes armed with flurp flones, or the bone of a fith. The ordinary dress of the Spaniards was of itself an impenetrable armour against arrows of this kind, flor with luttle dexertly. These weapons and some simile clubs, or rather large sticks, which could Vol. II.

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BOOK feldom give a mortal blow, were far from making these prople formidable

THEY were distinguished into different chilles, one of which had a claim to a kind of nobility, but we are little acquainted either with the preregatives annexed to this diffinction, or vith the means of obtaining it This ignorant and favage people had also forcerers among them, who have always been either the offspring or parents of superfittion Columbus omitted no attention that might engage the friendship of these islanders. But at the same time he made them sensible, that, though he had no inclination to hurt them, he did not want the power The proofs he gave in their prefence of the furprising effects of his artillery, convinced them of the truth of what he faid They look ed upon the Spaniards as men descended from hea ven, and the p elents they received, vere, in their estimation, not mere currolities, but facred things

This error was productive of great advantages, nor was it removed by any act of folly or cruelty They gave the friage one glas beads, pins, knives, and bells. 7 gold and provisions

lowed him in crowds to the presence of Ferdi BOOK nand and Isabella He presented to them some. islanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curiofities, which were valuable on account of their novelty Such a variety of un-common objects, exposed to the view of a people whose vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they faw an anexhaustible source of riches for ever flowing into their country The enthulialm sprend, and reached even to the throne At the public audience the fovereigns gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to fit as a grandee of Spain He related his voyage to their They loaded him with careffes, commendations, and ho nours, and foon after he reimbarked with feventeen fail, to make new discoveries, and to establish colonies

On his arrival at San Domingo with fifteen hundred men, foldiers, artificers, and millionaries, with provisions for their fublishence, with the feeds of all the plants that were thought like ly to thrive in this hot and damp climate, and with the domestic animals of the old hemisphere, of which there was not one in the new one, Columbus found nothing but ruins and carcafes upon the foot where he had left fortifications and Spaniards . These plunderers had occasioned their own destruction by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour, and he had the address to perfuade those who had less moderation than himielf, that it was good policy to postpone their revenge to another time A fort, honoured with the name of Isabella, was constructed on the borders of the ocean, and that of Saint Thomas was erected on the mountains of Cibio, where the islanders gathered from the torrents, the greatest E e 2

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COLUMBUS availed himfelf of this harmony to fix upon a place for a fettlement, which he defigned should be the center of all his future pro-1-cls He crefted a fort with the afiltance of it e islanders, who cheerfully laboured to forge chains for themselves. He left thirty nine Castilians in the place, and, having reconnoured the greatest pert of the iffend, fet fail for Sprin

He armed at Pilos, a port of Andalufia, from a hence he had f iled feven months before. He proceeded by land to Barcelona, where the court refilled This journey was a triumph. The no-I slitty and the people cent to meet him, and followed him in crowds to the presence of Ferdi-BOOK nand and Isabella. He presented to them some. iflanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him. He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curiofities, which were valuable on account of their novelty. Such a variety of uncommon objects, exposed to the view of a people whose vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they 'taw an inexhaultible fource of riches for ever flowing, into their country. The enthulialin spread, and reached even to the throne. At the public audience the fovereigns gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to fit as a grandee of Spain. He related his voyage to them. They loaded him with careffes, commendations, and honours; and foon after he reimbarked with feventeen fail, to make new discoveries, and to establish colonies.

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BOOK part of the gold they used for their ornaments, and where the conquerors intended to open mines

While these works were carrying on, the pro-visions that had been brought from Europe had been either confumed or were spoilt. The colony had not received fresh ones enough to supply the deficiency, and foldiers, or failors, had neither had any lessure, knowledge, or inclination enough to produce fresh articles of subfishence. It became necessary to have recourse to the natives of the country, who cultivating but little, were unable to subfift strangers, who, though they were the most moderate persons of the old hemisphere, yet confumed each of them as much as would have been fufficient for feveral Indians. These unfortunate people gave up all they had, and still more was required. These continual exactions produced an alteration in their character, which was naturally timid; and all the Caciques, except Guacanahari, who had first received the Spaniards in his dominions, refolved to unite their forces, in order to break a yoke which was becoming every day more intolerable.

mingo, and their effects.

COLUMBUS defifted from pursuing his discoitte veries, in order to prevent, or put a ftop to this conquerors unexpected danger. Although two-thirds of his at San Do-followers had been hurried to the grave by mifery. by the climate, and by debauchery; although fickness prevented many of those who had escaped these terrible scourges from joining him; and al-though he could not muster more than two hundred infantry and twenty horse to face the enemy, yet this extraordinary man was not afraid of atsections extraordinary in the plains of Vega Real, an army, which inflorans in general have computed at one hundred thousand men. The chief pre-

caution

caution taken was to fall upon these troops in the BOOK

night time

THE unhappy islanders were conquered before the action began. They confidered the Spaniards as beings of a superior order. Their admiration, respect, and fear, were increased by the European armour, and the fight of the cavalry in particular assonished them beyond measure. Many of them were fimple enough to believe that the man and the horse were the same animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof against these impressions of terror, they could have made but a faint reliftance The cannonading, the pikes, and a discipline to which they were strangers, must have eafily dispersed them. They fled on all sides. To punish them for their rebellion, as it was called, every Indian above fourteen years of age, was fubjected to a tribute in gold or in cotton, according to the district he lived in.

This arrangement of matters, which required affiduous labour, appeared the greatest of evils to a people who were not used to be employed The defire of getting rid of their oppressors, became their only pathon. As they entertained no further hope of their being able to fend them away by force, the idea occurred to them, in 1496, of expelling them by famine In this view, they fowed no more maize, they pulled up the collars roots that were already planted, and they , tl emfelves took refuge among the most barren and fleep rocks

DESPERATE resolutions are seldom attended with fuccess; accordingly, that which the Indians had taken proved extremely fatal to them. The gifts of rude and uncultivated nature were not sufficient for their support, as they had inconfiderately expected they would be, and their afvlum, however difficult of access, was not able to

fcreen

BOOK part of the gold they used for their ornaments, mines

WHILE these works were carrying on, the provisions that had been brought from Europe had been either consumed or were spoilt. The colony had not received fresh ones enough to supply the deficiency, and soldiers, or sailors, had neither had any leifure, knowledge, or melination enough to produce fresh articles of subfishence. It became produce frein articles of inditioned. To became necessary to have recourse to the natives of the country, who cultivating but little, were unable to substit strangers, who, though they were the most moderate persons of the old hemisphere, yet consumed each of them as much as would have been fufficient for feveral Indians. These unfortunate people gave up all they had, and still more was required. These continual exactions produced an quired. These continual exactions produced an alteration in their character, which was naturally timid, and all the Caciques, except Guacanahar, who had first received the Spaniards in his dominions, resolved to unite their forces, in order to break a voke which was becoming every day more intolerable

Constilan mingo. and their offects.

Columbus delifted from purfuing his difcocommit-ted by the veries, in order to prevent, or put a flop to this conquerors unexpected danger. Although two-thirds of his at San Do- followers had been hurried to the grave by mifery. by the climate, and by debauchery; although fickness prevented many of those who had escaped these terrible scourges from joining him; and al-though he could not muster more than two hundred infantry and twenty borfe to face the enemy, dred infantry and twenty borfe to face the enemy, yet this extraordinary man was not afraid of attacking, in 1495, in the plains of Vega-Real, an carmy, which historians in general have computed at one hundred thousand men. The chief pre-

THE malefactors who accompanied Columbus, B O O K in conjunction with the plunderers that infeffed San Domingo, formed one of the most unnatural kinds of fociety that had ever appeared upon the globe Their mutual coalition enabled them boldly to fet all authority at defiance, and the impossibility of subdaing them, made it necessary to have recourse to attempts to bring them over, Several were tried in vain. At length, in 1499, it was fuggefled, that to the lands which every Spaniard received, a greater or less number of islanders should be annexed, whose time and labour was to be devoted to masters destitute of humanity and prudence , This act of weakness restored apparent tranquillity to the colony, but without conciliating to the admiral the affection of those who profited by it The complaints made against him were even more constant, more urgent, more general, and more attended to than they had been before.

This extraordinary man purchased upon very hard terms the same which his genius as d industry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contrast of elevation and depression. He was not only continually exposed to the crbais, calumnies, and ingratitude of individuals, but was also obliged to submit to the caprices of a haughty and turbulent court, which by turns sewarded or punished, reduced him to the necessity of making the most humiliting justifications, and restored him to it's considence.

THE prejudice, entertained by the Spanish mimitry against the author of the greatest discovery ever made, operated to far, that an arbitrator was fent to the New World, to decide between Columbus and liss foldiers. Bovachila, the most ambitions, self interested, unjust, and violent man that had yet gone over to America, arrived at San

Domingo

BOOK It was absolutely necessary, however, to procure colonists, the admiral therefore proposed to have recourse to the prisons, and, to rescue criminals from death and infamy, for the purpose of aggrandizing their country, of which they were the resuse and the digrace. This project would have been attended with fewer inconveniences in such colonies as, having gained a more solid establishment, might, by the force of their lays, have restrained or corrected licentious and pressing individuals, but instant states require sounders of a different character from a set of rogues. America will, perhaps, never get rid of the remains of that alloy which debased the first colonies that were transported thither from Europe, and Columbus himself was soon convinced of the injudicious advice he had given

Hap this enterprifing feaman carried out with him men of the common flamp, he might, during the voyage, have inspired them with honest principles at least, if not with high notions of honour. These persons on their arrival would have conftituted a majority, and, by fetting the example of obedience, would necessarily have brought back to order, those who had deviated from it Such a harmony would have been productive of the most falutary effects, and have established the colony on the most folid foundation. The Indians would have been treated in a better manner, the mines worked to greater advantage, and the taxes more eafily levied The mother country, animated by this fuccess to greater exertions, might have formed new fettlements, which would have augmented the glory, the wealth, and the power of Spain. Thele important events, which might have been brought forward in a few years, were rendered abortive by this hafty idea.

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BOOK Domingo in 1500; deprived the admiral of his VI. property, his honours, and his command, and fent him to Europe in irons. The fovereigns were warned, by public indignation, that the world expected the immediate punishment of so daring a

crime, and the reparation of fo great an outrage. In order to conciliate propriety with their prejudices, Ferdinand and Isabella recalled, with real or feigned refentment, the agent who had to cruclly abused the power with which they had intrusted him: but they did not restore to his post the deplorable victum of his incomprehensible villany. Columbus, rather than languish in indolence, or live in a flate of humiliation, determined to undertake a fourth voyage as an adventurer, into regions which might almost be said to have been created by himself. After this effort. which neither the malice of mankind, nor the caprice of the elements rendered useless, he ended in 1506, at Valladolid, his brilliant career, which the recent death of Habel's had deprived him of every hope of it's ever being fortunate. Although he was no more than fifty-nine years of age, yet his bodily firength was much weakened; but the faculties of his mind had not loft any of their energy.

SUCH was the end of this uncommon man, who, to the allonithment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been fo long defolate, and fo little known. It might reasonably have been expelled, that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid feaman to the new hemisphere, the first discovery of which was owen fame, this honour was referved for Americus BOOK Vefpucius, a Florentine, who did nothing more than follow the footfleps of a man whole name ought to stand foremost in the list of great characters. Thus the very arra, which added America to the known world, was distinguished by an instance of injustice, that may be considered as a fatal prelude to those scenes of violence of which this unhappy country was afterwards to be the theatre.

.. His misfortunes had commenced with the difcovery. Columbus, notwithstanding his humanity and his talents, increased them himself by fixing Americans upon the lands which he diffributed to his foldiers. This plan, which he had purfued merely to remove the embarraffments to which he was exposed from an almost incessant spirit of rebellion, was continued and extended by Bovadilla, in the view of gaining the affections of the Spaniards Ovando, who succeeded him, broke all these connections, as he had been ordered to do. Rest was the first enjoyment of these feeble beings; who had been condemned by force to labours, which were neither confiftent with the nature of their food, with their confliction, nor with their customs. They then wandered about as chance directed their steps, or sat themselves down and did nothing. The consequence of this indolence was a famine, which was fatal both to them and their oppressors. It might have been possible to bring about some fortunate alteration in circumstances with mildness, prudent regulations, and a great share of patience. But these slow and moderate measures were not suitable to conquerors, who were eager to acquire, and earnest to enjoy. They demanded, with a degree of warmth inseparable from a concern of importance, that all the Indians should be distributed among them; in order to

BOOK vessels at Saint Jago, fuled vestward, and landed fucceshvely at Yucatan, and at Campeachy They were received as enemies upon both these coasts, many of them perished in the contests they were engaged in, and the reft regained, in the utmost confusion, the port from whence they had set out a few months before with fuch flattering expectations.

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fented nothing to the Spaniards but naked and wandering favages, without any occupation or form of government This was the first time they had feen a people dwelling in houses, clothed, formed into a national body, and fufficiently ad

vanced in the arts to convert precious metals into vales THIS discovery, while it excited apprehensions of new dangers, presen ed, at the same time, the alluring prospect of a rich booty, two hundred and forty Spaniards therefore went on board of four fhips fitted our by the ch ef of the colon) at his own expense. They began by verifying the reports brought by the preceding adventurers. they then continued their voyage as far as the river Panuco, and thought they perceived in all pans full more evident marks of civilization They often landed Sometimes they were very warmly attacked, and fometimes they were received witha degree of respect bordering upon adoration The) found one or two opportunities of exchanging fome trifles of the old hemisphere for it e gold of it e new one The most enterprising of them were of of

mon that a fertlement should be formed upo" these beautiful regions, but their committee Gryalia, though active and intrepid, v as not at mated with the foul of a hero, and did not think I'm forces sufficient for so important an undertaking. B O O K He returned to Cuba, where he gave an account, Yimore or less exaggerated, of all he had seen, and of all he had been able to learn, concerning the

empire of Mexico.

THE conquest of this immense and opulent region was immediately refolved upon by Velafquez; but he took some time in deliberating upon the choice of the agent he meant to employ on this occasion. He was apprehensive of intrusting the business to a man who should not have the qualities necessary to insure it's success, or to one who should have too much ambition to give the honour of it to him. His confidents at length determined his choice in favour of Fernando Cortez, the one of his lieutenants whom his talents most strongly indicated as the fittest person to execute the project, but at the fame time the most improper to answer his personal views. The activity, elevation of mind, and boldness displayed by the new commander in preparing for an expedition, the difficulties of which he foresees and wishes to remove, awaken all the anxiety of a governor naturally too fulpicious. He was observed to be employed, first in private, and afterwards openly, in fuggesting a plan for the withdrawing of an important commiltion, which he reproached himfelf with having inconfiderately given. But this regret was too late. Before the arrangements, contrived to keep back the fleet, composed of eleven finall vessels, could be settled, it had set sail on the tenth of February 1519, with nine hundred failors, five hundred and eight foldiers, fixteen horft, thirteen mulquets, thirty-two cross bows, a great number of fwords and pikes, four falcons, and ten field pieces.

THESE preparatives for invalion, however infufficient they may frem to be, had not even been furnished BOOK yellels at Saint Jago; failed weltward, and landed fuccessively at Yucatan, and at Campeachy. They were received as enemies upon both these coasts; many of them perifhed in the contests they were engaged in, and the rest regained, in the utmost confusion, the port from whence they had set out a few months before with fuch flattering expectations. Their return was marked by the death of Cordova, the commander of the expedition, who expired of his wounds.

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THESE preparatives for invalion, however infufficient they may from to be, had not even been furnished BOOK furnished by the crown, which at that time only , lent it's name to the new discoveries and settlements. The plans of aggrandizement were formed by private persons, who conducted them according to measures either well or ill concerted, and who carried them into execution at their own expence. The thirst of gold, and the spirit of chivalry which full sublisted, were the two chief motives that excited the ferment. These two powerful incentives hurried at once into the New World men of the highest and of the lowest class in fociety; robbers intent on nothing but plunder; and men of exalted minds, who imagined they were pursuing the road to glory. This is the reason why the vestiges of these first conquerors were marked by fo many crimes, and by fo many extraordinary actions; why their cupidity was fo atrocious, and their bravery fo affonithing,

Cortize fermed to be animated with the two passions of riches and of fame. In going to the place of his destination, he attacked the Indians of Tabasco, beat their troops several times, compelled them to sue for peace, received homage from them, and obliged them to give him provisions, some pieces of cotton, and twenty women, who were glad to follow him. This readines of their's may be accounted for very naturally.

In America the men were in general addicted to that shameful kind of debauchery which shocks nature, and perverts animal inftinct. This depravity has been attributed by some to natural weakness, which, however, should rather seem to be contrary than incentive to it. It may rather be ascribed to the heat of the climate; the contempt the men have for the softer sex; the little pleasure that can be experienced in the arms of a woman harasted with labour; the inconstancy of taste, the caprice which incites us in every particular

cillar to enjoyments that are least common, and BOOK infipres us with certain inordinate propensities to voluptuousness, more easy to be conceived than explained with decency. Besides, those hunting prities, in which the men-were frequently absent from the women for whole months, contributed also to familiarize men more with each other. This vice is therefore in these countries nothing more than the consequence of an universal and violent passion, which even in civilized nations tramples upon honour, virtue, decency, probity, the ties of consanguinty, and patriotic fentiment besides, that there are some actions to which civilized people have with reason attached moral ideas, that never have entered into the minds of frigages,

However this may be, the arrival of the Europeans ruled new ideas in the American women. They threw themselves without reluctance into the arms of these libidinous strangers, who had inured themselves to cruelty, and whose avaricious hands were imbrued in blood. While the unfortunate rem ins of thefe favage-nations were endeavouring to separate themselves from the fword that purfued them by immense tracts of deferts, their women, who had been hitherto too much neglected, boldly trampling on the carcafes of their children and of their murdered husbands, went to feek their destroyers even in their camp, in order to intice them to share the ardent transports with which they were devoured. This furious attachment of the American women for the Spaniards, may be reckoned among the causes that contributed to the conquest of the New World These women usually served them as guides, frequently procured them sublistence, and sometimes betrayed confpiracies to them The most celebrated of these vomen was named

Though the was the daughter of a to-

lerably

Mar. II

BOOK lerably powerful cacique, the had been reduced, by fome fingular events, to a flate of flavery among the Mexicans from her earliest infancy. She had been brought, by fresh incidents, to Tabasco before the arrival of the Spaniards. Struck with her figure and her charms, they foon diffinguilhed her from the rest. Their general furrendered his heart to her, and at the same time excited a warm passion in her, breast. In the midst of amorous embraces she readily learns the Spanish language. Cortez, on his part, soon discovered the intelligent mind and resolute character of his miffress; and not only made her his inter-

prise against Mexico. . The Spa. MONTEZUMA was fovereign of the empire when the Spaniards landed there. The monarch was foon informed of the arrival of these strangers.

Their first Throughout this vast extent of kingdom couriers engage- were placed at different distances, who speedily ments are acquainted the court with every thing that happenrepublicof ed in the most distant provinces. Their dispatches were composed of pieces of cotton, upon which were delineated the feveral circumstances of the affairs that required the attention of government. 'The figures were intermixed with hieroglyphic characters, which supplied what the art of the painter had not been able to express.

preter, but also his adviser. All historians agree that the acted a confiderable part in every enter-

Ir was to be expected, that a prince who had been railed to the throne by his valour, who had extended his empire by conquest, who was in policifion of numerous and disciplined armies, would either fend to attack, or would have marched himself to disperse, a handful of adventurers, who dared to infest and plunder his dominions. But this step was neglected; and the Spaniards, who had always an irrefiftible turn to the marvel-

lous, endeavoured to explain, by having recourse BOOK to a miracle, a conduct fo evidently opposite to the character of the monarch, and incompatible with his fituation. The writers of this superstitions nation have not fcrupled to declare to the whole universe, that a little before the discovery of the New World, it had been foretold to the Mexicans, that an invincible people from the east would foon come among them, who would, in a memorable and terrible manner, avenge the gods irritated by their most horrid crimes, and particularly that vice, which is most repugnant to nature. This fatal prediction alone, they fay, had fascinated the understanding of Montezuma. By this imposture; they imagined, that they should gain the double advantage of justifying otheir usurpations, and making Heaven answerable for a part of their cruelties. This abfurd fable has for a long time obtained credit among some persons in both hemispheres, and the infatuation is not so furprifing as might at first be imagined. The reasons of it will be made evident by a few reflections.

Ancient revolutions, the period of which is uncertain, have subverted the earth; and the science of astronomy demonstrates the possibility of these catastrophes, of which the natural and moral history of the world surnishes us with a multitude of incontestible proofs. A great number of comets are moving, in all directions, round the sun. The motions of their orbits, far from being invariable, are evidently changed by the action of the planets. Several of these bodies have passed near the earth, and may possibly have struck against it. This event is not likely to happen in the course of one year, or even of one century; but the probability of it increases for much from the number of the earth's revolutions,

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BOOK that it may almost be afferted, that this planet

VI has not always escaped the shock of the different
comets that have traversed it's orbit.

Such a circumstance must have occasioned inexpressible ravages upon the surface of the globe. The rotatory axis being altered, the seas would abandon their former position to precipitate themfelves towards the new equator; the greatest part of the animals would either be drowned by the deluge, or destroyed by the violent shock given to the earth by the comet; and whole species must have been annihilated; such are the diasters which a comet must have oroduced.

a comet must have produced.

INDEPENDENT of this general cause of devastation, earthquakes, volcanoes, and a variety of other unknown causes, which act on the internal sarts of the globe, as well as on it's surface, must have changed the respective position of it's parts, and consequently the situation of the poles upon which it rotates. The waters of the sea, displaced by these changes, must have quitted one tract of and to occupy another, and must have caused

levastation, or lasting memorials of their fatal efects in the annals or traditions of mankind. This perpetual struggle of one element with another, of the earth ingulphing the waters in her mernal cavities; and of the sea increaching up-

hole inundations and fuccessive deluges which tave, in all parts, left visible marks of ruin and

on, and fwallowing up, large tracts of land, this sternal conteft fublifting between two elements apparently incompatible, but in reality infeparable from each other, exposes the inhabitants of the globe to evident dangers, and fills them with appetentions concerning their fate. The lively recollection of past, naturally inspires a dread of future changes. Hence the universal traditions concerning deluges in the earlier ages, and the expectation

expectation of the future conflagration of the BOOK world. The violent agitations which have been felt in every part of the globe, earthquakes occasioned by inundations, or volcanoes produced by those convulsions, excite and keep up terror in the minds of men. This terror has been diffused, and received the fanction of every system of superstition; and it is observed to operate most strongly in countries, such as America, where the vestiges

of these revolutions of the globe are most remarkable and most recent.

MAN, once possessed with fear, considers a single calamity as the parent of a thousand others, Earth and heaven feem equally to confpire his ruin : he imagines that he views death both above and beneath him: he looks upon events, which accidentally happen at the fame juncture, as connected in the nature and order of things; and, as every transaction on this globe must necessarily appear under the aspect of some constellation, the stars are accused of having a share in every calamity, the cause of which is unknown; and the human mind, which has ever been bewildered in it's inquines concerning the origin of evil, has been led to funpose, that certain similar situations of the planets, however common, have an immediate and necesfary influence on all revolutions happening at the time, or foon after succeeding.

Political events, in particular, on account of their greater importance to mankind, have ever been considered as more immediately depending on the motion of the stars. Hence have attlen salle predictions, and the terrors they have inspired; terrors which have always disturbed the earth, and of which ignorance is the cause, at the same time that it regulates the degree of

them

воок VI.

Though Montezuma, as well as many other persons, might possibly have been affected with this disease of the human mind, there is no circumstance that can induce us to impute this prevailing weakness to him. His political conduct, however, was not the wifer on this account. Since this prince had been upon the throne, he had no longer displayed any of those talents that had placed him upon it Sunk in a ftate of effeminacy and indolence, he despised his subjects, and oppressed his tributaries. His mind was so debased and corrupted, that even the arrival of the Spaniards could not rouse him into action. He wasted in negociations the time he should have employed in combat, and wished to send away, laden with presents, enemies he ought to have destroyed. Cortez, to whom this supmeness was very convenient, omitted nothing that might contribute to encourage it, and always treated with him on the most friendly terms He declared, that he was fent merely with orders to hold a con-ference with the powerful emperor of Mexico, on the part of the greatest monarch of the East, Whenever he was pressed to resimbark, he always reprefented, that no ambassador had ever been difmissed without being admitted to an audience. At length the deputies, finding him inflexible, were obliged, according to their instructions, to have recourse to menaces, and spoke in high terms of the opulence and ftrength of their country. Cortez then, turning to his foldiers, told them: This is exactly what we wished to meet with, great dangers and great wealth He had then completed all his preparatives, and gained every information that was necessary. Resolved therefore to conquer or to perish, he fet fire to all his ships, and directed his march towards the capital of the empire.

, In his way he met with the republic of Tlaf- BOOK cala, which had ever been at enmity with the VI. Mexicans, who wanted to make it subject to their empire. Cortez, not doubting but that they would favour his projects, demanded permission to pals through their country, and propoled an alliance. A people, who had prohibited themfelves from holding almost any kind of intercourse with their neighbours, and whom this unfociable principle had accustomed to a general mistrust, could not be favourably, inclined to strangers, whose manner was imperious, and who had fignalized their arrival by infults offered to the gods of the country. Accordingly they rejected, without helitation, the two proposals that were made to them. The furpriling accounts given of the Spaniards aftonished the inhabitants of Tlascala, but did not dismay them. They fought four or five battles; in one of which the Spanish troops were broken. Cortez was obliged to intrench himfelf; and the Indians, who wanted nothing but arms to make them victorious, rushed to death upon his breaft-works.

ANOTHER circumstance, which contributed not a little to the deseat of the Tlascalane, was a cerain point of honour, distated by the feelings of common humanity, adopted by the Greeks at the sego of Troy, and by some people among the Gauls; and established among several nations. This was the dread and disprace of suffering the dead on the wounded to be carried off by the enemy. An attention to this point occasioned a continual consustion in their ranks, and abated the vigous of their attacks

A POLLTICAL conflitution, which could not be expected to have been found in the New World, had been established in this region. The country was divided into several districts, over which

BOOK princes prefided with the title of Caciques They led their subjects to war, levied taxes, and admi nistered justice but it was necessary that their laws and edicts should have the fanction of the fenate of Tlascala, in which the supreme autho rity refided This body was composed of citizens, chosen out of each district by an assembly of the people

THE morals of the Tlascalans were extremely rigid Falfehood, filial ingratitude, and fodomy, were punished with death Theft, adultery, and drunkenness were abhorred and the persons guilty of thefe crimes were banfled Polygamy was tolerated by law Their climate led to it, and the government encouraged it

MILITARY ment here, as in all uncivilized flates, or such as aspire to conquest, was in the highest estimation. In their warlike expeditions they carried in their quivers two arrows, on which were engraved the figures of two of their ancient heroes They began the engagement by discharging one of these arrows, which it was a point of honour to recover In their towns they wore a dress, which they laid aside when they went to battle They were celebrated for simplicity and sin-cents in their public treaties, and for the veneration they paid to old men

THEIR country, though uneven, of no great extent, and only moderately fertile, was full very populous, tolerably well cultivated, and the inha-

bitants were happy

Such were the people whom the Spaniards dif dained to acknowledge to be of the firme species with themselves One of the qualities of the Tlascalans, which excited their contempt the most, was the love of liberty They fincied that these people had no form of government, because it was not vested in a single person, no police, beeause it differed from that of Madrid; no virtues, B O O E because they, were not of the fame religious. VI. persuasion; and no understanding, because they, did not adopt the same opinions.

PERHAPS, no people have ever been fo firmly attached to their national prejudices, as the Spahiards were at that time, and as they still continue to be. By these prejudices all their sentiments were dictated, their judgments influenced, and their characters formed. The flrong and ardent genius they derived from nature, ferved only to affift them in inventing fophilins to confirm them in their errors. Never was the pervertion of human-reason, maintained in a more dogmatical, determined, obstinate, oand subtile manner .: nor 'was their attachment to their cuftoms less firong than to their prejudices. They thought no :people in the world were intelligent, enlightened, and virtuous, except othemfelves. This national pride, carried to an excels of infatuation beyond example, would have inclined them to .confider "Athens in the fame contemptuous light as they did Tlascala. They would have treated the Chinese as brutes, and have revery where left marks of outrage, oppression, and de-vastation. This haughty and imperious turn of mind did

This haughty and imperious turn of mind did not, however, prevent the Spaniards from making an alliance with the Tlascalans, who furnished them with fix thousand troops to conduct their march, and affift them in their enterprise.

With this reinforcement, Cortez advanced The Spatowards Mexico, through a fertile country, well mards, afterwards, and covered with woods, cultivated introductions, a variety of plants unknown in Europe. Birds the capital of the brightest plumage, and animals of a new of the emfpecies, appeared in great abundance. Nature puts, are differed obliged to

ordinary events.

BOOK differed from herfelf only in affurning a more VI. agreeable and richer drefs. The temperature of evacuate it the air, and the continual, though tolerable heat, after seve- preserved the earth in a constant verdure and fer-

tility. On the fame foot were feen trees covered with blossoms, and others with delicious fruits; and the corn that was fown in one field was reaped in another.

THE Spaniards seemed to be insensible to the beauties of fo new a scene. They saw that gold was the common ornament of the houses and temples; that the arms, furniture, and persons, of the Mexicans, were adorned with the same metal. This alone attracted their notice, like Mammon; whom Milton describes as forgetting the Divinity in Heaven itself, and having his eyes always fixed upon it's golden porches.

MONTEZUMA's wavering disposition, and, perhaps, the fear of flaining his former glory, prevented him from marching against the Spaniards at their arrival, and from joining the Tlascalans, -who had behaved with greater courage than he had done; and, laftly, from attacking conquerors who were fatigued with their own victories. He had contented himfelf with endeavouring to divert Cortez from his delign of viliting his capital, and resolved at last to introduce him into it himself. Thirty kings or princes were subject to his dominion, many of whom were able to bring a numerous army into the field. He possessed considerable riches, and his power was absolute. It appears that his subjects were intelligent and industrious. They were also a warlike people, and had high notions of honour.

HAD the emperor of Mexico known how to avail himself of these advantages, the scepter could never have been wrested out of his hands. But this prince, forgetting what he owed to himfelf \* .

and to his station, did not shew the least lign of BOOK courage or ability. When he might have crushed, the Spaniards with his whole force, notwithflanding their superiority in descipline and arms, he rather chose to have recourse to perfidy.

While he loaded them with prefents, careffes, and every token of respect at Mexico, he gave orders to attack Vera-Cruz, a colony the Spaniards had established upon the spot where they landed, with a view of fecuring their retreat, and of being furnished with supplies. Cortez acquainted his companions with the news, and faid to them, " It is absolutely necessary to surprise " these barbarians with some extraordinary ex-" ploit; I am resolved to seize the emperor, and " make myself master of his person." This defign being approved, he instantly marched with his officers to Montezuma's palace, and told him he must either follow him, or die. The prince, whose pusillanimity could only be equalled by the rashness of his enemies, resigned himself into their hands. He was obliged to confent to the punishment of the generals, who had acted only in obedience to his orders; and completed his difgrace, by submitting to do homage to the king of Spain. In the midst of these successes, intelligence was

received, that Narvaez had just arrived from Cuba with eight hundred infantry, fourscore cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon, in order to take the command of the army, and to punish the refractory. These forces had been sent by Velasquez, who was distatisfied that a few adventurers, fent out under his auspices, should have neglected all intercourse with him, declared themselves independent of his authority, and fent deputies into Europe, to obtain confirmation of those powers they had arrogated BOOK gated to themfelves. Although Cortez had no will more than two hundred and fifty men, he marched up to his rival, engaged, and took him prifoner. He obliged the vanquished to lay down their arms, but afterwards reflored them, and proposed that they should follow him. He gained their affections by his confidence and magnanimity; and these soldiers inlisted under his standard. He instantly marched back with them to Mexico, where he had not been able to leave more than fifty Spaniards, who with the Tlascalans closely guarded the emperor.

Commortons were excited among the nobility of Mexico, whose indignation was raised at the captivity of their prince; and the indiscreet zeal of the Spaniards having prompted them to diffurb a public festival, 'celebrated in honour of the deities of the country, by destroying their altars, and making a massacre of the worshippers and priests, the people had been provoked to take up arms.

THE Mexicans had a number of barbarous fuperfittions; and their 'priefts were monfters, who made the moft feandalous abufe of that 'abominable' worfhip, which they had imposed upon the crednlity of the people. They acknowledged, like all other civilized nations, a Supreme Being, and a future state of rewards and 'punishments: but these submitted most of the submitted by a mixture of absurdines, which destroyed their credibility.

The religious fyftem of the Mexicans taught them to expect the final cataftrophe of the world at the conclusion of every century, and that year was diffunguished throughout the whole empire by

every mark of grief and consternation.

The Mexicans invoked inferior powers in the

fame manner as other nations have invoked Genii, Camis, Manitous, Angels, and Fetiches. The lowest lowest of this class of deities had all their temples, B O O K images, functions, and diffinct authority affigned them, together with the power of working; mi-

THE Mexicans had also their holy water to fprinkle the people; and the emperor drank of it, Pilgrimages,: processions, and donations to the priefts were efteemed acts of piety: and they were no strangers to expiations, penances, mortifications, and abstinence. They had some superstitious; observances 'peculiar, to's themselves, A flave was annually chosen, and thut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incense, invoked him as a deity, and concluded

the scene by putting him to death with great solemnity. Anorher piece of superstition, of which, no traces are to be found in any, other country, was this: on certain days the priest made a statue of paste, which they sent to the oven to be baked: they then placed it upon an altar, where it became a divinity. Upon this day, innumerable, crowds of people flocked to the temple: The priests cut the statue in pieces, and distributed a portion of it to all the persons in the affembly, who ate it, and thought they were fanctified by fwallowing their God. : Ir was certainly more eligible to eat Gods than men : and yet the Mexicans facrificed their prifoners of war in the temple of the god; of battles. The priests, it is said, afterwards atesthem, and fent portions to the emperor, and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had lafted some time, the priefts took care to have, it infinuated to the emperor, that the Gods were hungry; and war was commenced with no other view than to make prifoners.y

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BOOK. Such a fystem of religion, was, in every view, vi. odious and terrible; and all it's ceremonies were of a difinal and fanguinary cast. It kept mankind perpetually in awe, was calculated to make a p-ople cruel, and to give the priests an unlimited authority.

authority.

"ITHESE barbarous abfurdities, though they might juffly excite the deteflation of the Spaniards, could not juffly their attempts to suppress them by the greatest cruelties. They could not justify them in attacking and murdering a people assembled in the principal temple of the capital; of in assassing the nobles in order to seize upon their possessions.

- On his return to Mexico. Cortez found the Spaniards belieged on the fpot, where he had left them. It was a space of sufficient extent to contain the Spaniards and their allies, and furrounded with a thick wall, upon which were placed towers at different distances. The artillery had been disposed in the best manner possible; and the service had been always executed with as much regularity and vigilance as in a befieged place, or in the most exposed camp The general was not able to make his way into this kind of fortress. till after he had encountered many difficulties; and when he had at length got into it, the dangers ftill continued. Such was the obstinate fury of the natives of the country, that they exposed theme selves to the risk of penetrating through the emibrafures of the cannon, into the aftlum which

they were seen to throw themselves into the ranks BOOK of the Spaniards, with a view of making their arms useles, or wresting them out of their hands. They were all ready to perish, in order to rescue their country from the yoke of these foreign usurpers.

THE most bloody engagement was fought upon an eminence which the Americans had feized, and from whence they overwhelmed all that prefented themselves with showers: of arrows; more or less destructive: The party charged with dislodging, them, was three times repulled. : Cortez was irritated by this reliftance, and though much wounded, refolved to take the attack upon himfelf. Scarce had he got possession of this important post, than two young Mexicans threw down their arms, and came over to him as deferters, Placing one knee on the ground in a suppliant posture, they sprang upon, him with extreme quickness, and seized him, in hopes of making him periff, by dragging him away along with them. Cortez, either by his strength or dexterity, disengaged himself from them and the two Mexicans died the victims of this noble but fruitless enterprife. - ; ' ,5+1 ! - \_ i l. - 4

This, and many other exploits, which shewed equal courage, made the Spaniards desirous of coming to terms of accommodation. At length Montezuma, still a prisoner, consented to become the instrument of his people's slavery; and, in all the pomp of the throne, he made his appearance upon the wall, to persuade his subjects to discontinue hostilities. Their resentment convinced him that his reign was at an end, and he was mortally wounded by the shower of arrows they discharged at him.

This tragical event was followed by a new arrangement of things. The Mexicans at length perceived,

B O O Experceived, that their plan of defence, and their plan of attack. I were equally defective, and reliabled to do nothing more than intercept the provisions, and reduce by famine an enemy, whom the fuperiority of their discipline and of their arms, rendered invincible. Cortex no fooner perceived this change of measures, than he thought of lifecuring a retreat among the Tlafcalans.

THE execution of this project required great dispatch, impenetrable secrecy, and well concerted measures The march was begun in the middle of the night - the army was filently filing off along a bank, when the rear guard was attacked by a numerous body, and the flanks by canoes diffributed on each fide of the caufeway' If the Mexicans, who had a greater number of troops than they could bring into action, had taken the precaution to place forme at the extremity of the bridges which they had prudently broken, all the Spaniards, and their allies, would have perished in this bloody engagement. Fortunntely for them, the enemy knew not how to avail himself of all his advantages, and they at length reached the borders of the lake, after having undergone a variety of incredible dangers and fatigues The confusion they were in still exposed them to a total defeat, when they were relieved from this danger by a fresh error of the enemy

No fooner had the morning dawn discovered to the Mexicans the field of battle, of which they were masters, than they perceived among the slain, a son and two daughters of Montezuma, whom the Spanistids were carrying off with some other prisoners. This sight chilled them with horror. The idea of having massaced the children, after having seenfeed the father, was too violent for men, and considerabled the same of the same of

enfeebled and enervated by a habit of blind obe-BOON dience, to be able to bear. They were afraid of vi adding implety to regicide; and employed in idle funeral rites the time they owed to the prefervation of their country.

During this interval, the beaten army, which had loft it's artillery, ammunition, and baggage, with five or fix hundred Spaniards, and two thoufand Tinfealans, and which had scarce a soldier remaining that was not wounded, was resuming it's march The enemy foon purfued, haraffed, and at length furrounded it in the valley of Otumba The cannonade, and the firing of the fmall arms, the pikes and fwords, did not present the Indians, all naked as they were, from advancing and charging their enemies with great fury. Courage was just upon the point of yielding to numbers, when Cortez himfelf determined the fortune of the day He had been informed, that in this part of the New World the fate of the battle depended upon the royal standard These colours, the form of which was remarkable, and which were never brought into the field but on the most important occasions, were at no great distance from him. He immediately rushed forward, with the bravest of his companions, to take them from the enemy One of them feized and carried them into the Spanish ranks The Mexicans immediately lost all courage, and throwing down their arms, betook themselves to flight. Cortez purfued his march, and arrived in the country of Tlascala without opposition

CORTEZ did not relinquish either the design or The Spatible hopes of subduing the empire of Mexico, but play other he adopted a new plan, and proposed to make one means for part of the inhabitants assist him in the reduction subduing of the other. The form of the Mexicon govern Mexico, and are ment, the disposition of the people, and the firm a secessful

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## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

-450 BOOK tion of the city, favoured his project, and facili-\_ tated the execution of it.

THE empire was elective, and certain princes or caciones were the electors . They usually chose one of their own body. He was obliged to take an oath, that, so long as he filled the throne, the rains should fall in due season, the rivers cause no inundations, the fields be exempt from fterility, and that mankind fhould not be destroyed by the malignant effects of a contagious air. This cuftom may have had some reference to a theocratical government, the traces of which are still to be found almost among all the nations in the world . It might likewife probably be the intention of this whimfical eath, to intimate to the new fovereign, that, as the misfortunes of a flate almost always arise from wrong measures of administration, his government ought to be conducted with fuch moderation and wildom, that' public calamities might never be confidered as the confequences of his imprudence, or as the just punishment of his licentiousness. According to the admirable tenor of their laws, ment was the only title to the crown: but superstition had given the priests a considerable influence in their elections On his accession to the throne, the emperor was obliged to make war, and to offer the . prisoners to the gods. This prince, though elective, had an absolute authority, as there were no written laws; and he was at liberty to make what alterations he chose in the old customs. Almost all the forms of justice, and ceremonies of the court, had the fanction of religion. The fame crimes that are punished in all other places were punishable by the laws, but the criminals were often faved by the interpolition of the priefts. There were two laws which had a tendency to destroy the innocent, and to make the Mexicans 2 .

bend under the double yoke of tyranny and fuper-BOOK fitton. By thefe laws, persons offending against VI. the sanctity of religion, or the majesty of the prince, were condemned to death. It is easy to differ how much laws of so little precusion might afford opportunities of gratifying private revenge, or of promoting the interested views of priests and

The steps by which private men obtained the rank of nobility, and the nobility role to posts of honour, were bravery, piety, and perfeverance. In the temples a more painful noviciate was prescribed than in the army; and the nobles; who had undergone such hardships to obtain their distinctions, submitted to the meanest employments in the palace of the emperors.

courners.

Among the great number of vassals in Mexico, Cortez concluded there might be some who would be ready to shake off the yoke, and join the Spaniards. He had remarked that the Mexicans were holden in great detestation by the petty states that were subject to the empire, and that the emperors exercised their authority with extreme severity. He had likewise observed, that the provinces in general distilled the religion of the metropolis, and that even in Mexico the nobility and persons of sortune, whose intercourse with society had abated the force of their prejudices, and softened their popular manners, had lost their attachment to this mode of religion; and that many of the nobility were disgusted at the low services exacted of them by their masters.

APTER Cortez had been filently deliberating upon his great projects, and bringing them to maturity, during fix months, he marched out of his retreat, attended by five hundred and minety Spaniards, ten thousand Tlascalans, and

## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE 4;2

BOOK some other Indians, bringing along with theri forty horses, and eight or nine field-pieces. He

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Successes calculated to aftonish even the most presumptuous, ought naturally to have attached every individual to the intrepid and prescient commander, whose work they were; but this was not the cafe. Among his Spanish treeps, there were rather a confiderable number, who had kept up too lively a recollection of the dangers which they had escaped with so much difficulty; and who were become traitors, from the dread of those they had full to encounter. They agreed among themselves to affassinate their repre-

names of the confurators, and that he had car-BOOK ried his feeret with him to the grave, notwith translating the feverity of the torments employed to extort it from him

In the mean while, the general, in order not to give his troops time to reflect too much upon what had happened, haftened to the attack of Mexico, the grand object of his ambition, and the ultimate end of the hopes of the army the project

was attended with great difficulty

MOUNTAINS, which for the most part were a thousand feet high, surrounded a plain of about forty leagues. The greater part of this immense space, was occupied by lakes which communicated with each other. At the northern extremity of the greatest of these, in the midst of a few small islands, had been built the most considerable city that existed in the New World, before the Europeans had ofscovered it. Three causeways, of different lengths, but all of them broad, and constructed with solidity, led up to it. The inhabitants of the shores, too distant from these great roads, came up to them in their canoes

CORTEZ made himself master of the navigation, by means of some sinal vessels, the materials of which had been prepared at Tlascala, and he ordered the dike to be attacked by Sandoval, by Alvarado, and by Olid, to each of whom he distributed an equal number of guns, of Spanish

troops, and of Indian auxiliances

EVERY thing had been disposed for a long time to make an obtunate resistance. The means of desence had been prepared by Quetlavaca, who had succeeded his brother Montezumy, but who had perished of the smallpox, brought into these regions by a flive belonging to Natives, and when the slege began, the reins of the empire were guided by Guatumorin

BOOK fome other Indians, bringing along with them VI. forty horfes, and eight or nine field-pieces. His march towards the center of the Mexican dominions was eafy and rapid. The petry nations, which might have retarded or embarraffed it, were all eahly fubdued, or voluntarily furrendered themselves to him. Many of the districts in the neighbourhood of the capital of the empire, were also forced to yield to him, or submitted of themselves.

Successes calculated to aftonish even the most presumptuous, ought naturally to have attached every individual to the intrepid and prescient commander, whose work they were; but this was not the case. Among his Spanish troops, there were rather a confiderable number, who had kept up too lively a recollection of the dangers which they had escaped with so much difficulty; and who were become traitors, from the dread of those they had still to encounter. They agreed among themselves to assallinate their general, and to give the command to a person who would abandon projects which appeared to them extravagant; and would take prudent measures for their prefervation. The treason was just upon the point of being carried into execution, when remorfe induced one of the conspirators to throw himself at the feet of Cortez. Immediately this bold mán, the resources of whose genius were more and more unfolded by unexpected events, caused Villafagna, the principal agent in this dark plot, to be arrested, tried, and sentenced, but not till he had extorted from him an accurate lift of his accomplices. The bufiness was to dissipate the anxiety which fuch a discovery might occafion. This was effected, by giving out that the villain had torn a paper, which contained, no doubt, either the plan of the confpiracy, or the names

names of the conspirators, and that he had car-BOOK ried his secret with him to the grave, notwith standing the severity of the torments employed to extort it from him.

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454 THE actions of this young prince were all the heroic, and all prudent. The fire of his look, the elevation of his discourse, and the brilliancy of his courage, made every impression he wished upon his people. He disputed the ground foot by foot, and never abandoned a fingle inch of it, till it was strewed with the carcasses of his soldiers, and stained with the blood of his enemies. Fifty thousand men, who had hastened from all parts of the empire to defend their mafter, and their gods, had perished by the sword or by fire; famine occasioned daily inexpressible ravages, to these numerous calamities contagious diseases had been added, and yet, all these circumstances had not been capable of fliaking the firmness of his foul, even for one fingle instant. The besiegers, after a number of destructive battles, and heavy loffes, had at length reached the center of the place, which, however, he did not vet think of giving up. He was at last prevailed upon to quit these ruins, which could no longer be defended, in order to repair to the provinces, and to carry on the war there. In the view of facilitating this retreat, fome overtures of peace were made to Cortez; but this noble artifice had not the tuccess that it deserved; and the canoe, in which this generous and unfortunate monarch had embarked, was taken by a brigantine. An officer of the Spanish revenue, suspecting that he had treasures concealed, ordered him to be extended upon red-hot coals, to extort a confession. favourite, who underwent the fame torture, complaining to him of his fufferings, the emperor laid, Am I upon a bed of rofes? An expression equal to any of those which history has recorded as worthy the admiration of mankind! an expression which the Mexicans would repeat to their children, if ever the period should arrive,

which

which the Spaniards shall expiate the cruelties B O O K they have exercifed, and that race of destroyers will be plunged into the sea, or, drowned in their own blood. These people might, perhaps, have preserved the actions of their martyrs, and the history of their persecutions. In these it will be recorded, that Guatimozin was dragged half dead from the stames, and that three years after he was publicly hanged, under presence of his having conspired against his tyranis and executioners.

· AFTER ten weeks of a brifk and regular attack, Idea we with the affiftance of fixty or a hundred thouland areto form of Mexico Indian allies; and by the inperiority of their dif-before it cipline, their arms, and their shipping, the Spa-submitted mards at length made themselves masters of to Spain, Mexico; and if we may credit the accounts they give, it was a magnificent city. There were thirty thousand houses, an immense number of inhabitants, and some superb edifices within it's walls. The fovereign's palace, built of marble and jaspar, 'was of prodigious extent.' It was ornamented with baths, statues, and fountains: and was full of pictures, which, though made only of feathers, were finely coloured, brilliant, and natural. Most of the great, as well as the emperor, had menageries filled with all the animals of the New Continent. Their gardens were foread with plants of every species Every production of the foil and climate that was scarce and brilliant, was an object of luxury to an opulent nation, where nature was beautiful and the afts-imperfect. The temples were numerous, and, in general, magnificent; but they were flained with blood, and lined with the heads of the unhappy victims that had been factificed in them.

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BOOK Ove of the greatest beauties of this dazzling VI. city, was a fquare, which was usually filled with a hundred thousand persons, overspread with tents and shops, where the merchants displayed all the tiches of the country, and all the works of induftry wrought by the Mexicans. Birds of all colours, brilliant shells, a profusion of flowers, and various pieces of workmanship in gold and enamel, gave these markets à more beautiful and fplendid appearance to the eye, than it is possible to meet with in the richest fairs of Europe.

One hundred thousand canoes were constantly passing and repassing between the city and the borders of the lakes; which were ornamented with fifty cities, and with a multitude of towns and

villages.

The rest of the empire, as far as the respective fituations would allow, prefented the fame spectacle : but with the difference that is always obferved between the capital and the provinces This nation, the antiquity of which was not very remote, which had no communication with enlightened people, which knew not the use of iron, and had not the advantage of writing, which was ignorant of those arts by which we have the advantage of being acquainted with others, and of practiling them, and which was fituated in a climate where the faculties of man are not called forth by want, this nation, we are told, had rifen to this degree of eminence by it's genius alone.

This is a pompous description, given in an instant of vanity by a conqueror naturally addicted to exaggeration, or deceived by the great superiority which a well-regulated state had over the favage regions that had yet been laid waste in the New Hemisphere; and the salsity of it may ealily be made evident to every man's capa-

city. It is not, however, merely by contrasting BOOK the present state of Mexico with that in which it's VI. conquerors pretend to have found it, that this can be effected. The deplorable effects of a destructive tyranny, and of a long feries of oppression are sufficiently known. But let us call to mind the ravages which the barbarians, issuing from the North, formerly committed among the Gauls and in Italy: When this torrent had paffed away, did there not remain upon the earth great monuments which attefted, and do still attest, the power of the people that had obeen subdued? And does the region, we are now confidering, present us with such magnificent ruins? We must therefore take it for granted, that the public and private edifices, so pompoufly described, were nothing more than irregular maffes of Itone heaped upon one another; that the celebrated Mexico was nothing more than a little town, composed of a multitude of rustic huts, irregulatly dispersed over a large space of ground; and that the other places, the grandeur and beauty of which, it has been cultomary to extoll, were still inferior to this first of the cities.

The labours of men have always been proportioned to their ftrength, and to the infiruments they have made use of. Without the science of mechanics, and the invention of it's machines, there can be no great monuments existing. Without a quadrant or a telescope, there can be no great progress made in astronomy, no precision in observations. Without iron, there can be no hammers, no pincers, no anvils, no forges, no saws, no axes, no hatchets; no work in metal that can deserve to be looked at; no massony, no carpenter's er joiner's work, no architecture, no engraving, no sculpture. With all these helps, what time does it not take our workmen, to sepa-

than a mountain or a river to cross, in order to g o o g be free; this is a circumstance that would be VI. incomprehensible, if we knew not how much the habit of superstition degrades the human race in SEVERAL of the provinces which might be confidered as constituting a part of this vast dominion, governed themselves by their primary laws, and according to their ancient, maxims. "Tributaries merely of the empire, they continued still under the controll of their caciques. The obligations imposed upon these great vallals, was to cover or to enlarge the frontiers of the state, whenever they were ordered; to contribute continually to the public charges, originally, according to a fettled rate; but latterly, according to the necesfities, rapacity, or caprices of the despot. THE administration of the countries more, immediately dependent on the throne, was intrufted to some of the great, who were affifted in their functions by nobles of an inferior order. Thele officers enjoyed, at first, a degree of dignity and importance: but they were nothing more than the instruments of tyranny, fince arbitrary power hald raifed itself-upon the ruins of a government which might have been called feudal. 75 3 1 1 1 2 To each of these offices, a portion of land, of greater or less extent, was attached. Those who directed the councils, who commanded the arimies, or, whom their employments detained in court, enjoyed-the same advantage. Persons in office changed their dwelling with their; occupation, and loft it as foon as they returned into private life. in the secretary of the second se

THERE were some possessions more entire, and which might be alienated or transmitted to posterity. These were sew in number; and must

BOOK rate from the quarry, raife and carry away a block of stone? What time to cut into a square? And how could this be effected without the refources we have? The favage would have been a man of great understanding, who upon seeing, for the first time, one of our large buildings, would have admired it, not as the work of our strength and industry, but as an extraordinary phænomenon of nature, which of herfelf should have raised those columns, bored those windows, fixed those entablatures, and prepared so wonder-It would have been to him the most ful a retreat beautiful cavern that the mountains would have ever prefented to his view.

LET us strip Mexico of all that has been beflowed upon it by fabulous accounts, and we shall find that this country, though far superior to the favage regions which the Spaniards had yet difcovered in the New World, was still nothing in comparison of the civilized nations of the old continent

Tur empire was subject to a despotism as cruel as it was ill concerted Fear, the great fpring of arbitrary governments, was substituted to morality and principles The chief of the flate was gradually become a kind of divinity, which the most presumptuous did not dare to look up to, and of whole actions the most imprudent would not have ventured to form a judgment may readily conceive in what manner citizens purchase every day, by the facrifice of their liberty, the pleasures and conveniences of life to which they have been accustomed from their infancy. but that people, to whom rude nature offered greater happiness than that which they enjoyed under the focial compact that united them, should quietly remain in a state of slavery, without once thinking that there was no hing more than than a mountain or a river to cross, in order to BOOR be tree, this is a circumstance that would be incomprehensible, if we knew not how much the habit of superstition degrades the human race in all parts

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There were some possessions more entire, and which might be alreaded or transmitted to posterity. These were sew in number, and must

BOOK have belonged to citizens of the most distinguished VI. class.

The people had nothing but commons, the extent of which was regulated by the number of inhabitants. In some of them the labours were carried on in a community, and the harvests were deposited in the public granaries, to be distributed as they were wanted; in others, the cultivators divided the fields between them, and tilled them for their own private use; but the territory was not allowed to be disposed of in any of them.

SEVERAL districts, more or less extensive, were covered with a kind of bondsmen attached to the glebe, passing from one proprietor to another, and not being able to claim any thing more than the coarsest and most scanty subsistence.

The men, still more degraded, were the domeftic slaves. Their life was esteemed so contemptible, that, according to the accounts of Herrera, one might deprive them of it, without fear of being sever prosecuted by the law.

ALL the orders of the state contributed to the support of government. In all societies that are a little advanced, taxes are paid in specie. The Mexicans were ignorant of this common measure of every kind of value, though gold and silver were in their possession. They had indeed begin to suspect the utility of an universal mode of exchange, and they already employed the seeds of the cocoa, in some trisling details of commerce: but the use of these was much limited, and could not be extended to the discharge of the taxes. The debts due to the treasury were therefore all paid in kind.

As all the agents of the public service received their salaries in provisions, a part of what was allotted

allotted to them, was kept back as their contri-BOOK button

The lands attached to offices, as well as those that were possessed in property, gave to the state a

part of their produce.

Beside the obligation imposed upon all communities to cultivate a certain extent of foil for the crown, they were also obliged to cede to it a third part of their harvests

HUNTERS, fishermen, potters, painters, and all workmen without distinction, gave up the same

portion of their industry every month

Even the beggars were taxed with certain fixed contributions, which they were obliged to pay from their labour, or from the alms they received

AGRICULTURE, at Mexico, was very much confined, though it was the only occupation of the majority of the inhabitants. Their cares were restrained to the cultivation of maize and cocoa, and there was even but a finall quantity of those productions gathered Had it been otherwife, the first Spaniards would not so frequently have been in want of sublistence. The imperfect state of this first of the arts might be owen to feveral causes These people had a strong propensity to idleness. The instruments they made use of were faulty. They had not tamed any animal that could affift them in their Their fields were ravaged by fallow deer, or by wandering people. They were incessantly oppressed by government In a word, their natural constitution was particularly, weak, which arose partly from unwholesome and insufficient food

The table of the rich, of the nobles, and of men in office, befide the produce of the chace, and of fifling, was supplied with turkeys, ducks,

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BOOK and rabbits, the only animals, except little dogs, which the inhabitants of these countries had been able to tame But the provisions of the common people confifted only of maize, prepared in different manners, of cocoa, diluted in warm water, and seasoned with honey and pimento, and of the herbs of the fields which were not too hard, or had no bad fmell Their drink confifted of fome honors that could not intoxicate. With respect to firong liquors, they were fo firstly prohibited, that a permission from government was necessary to be obtained for using them, and it was only granted to old or fick persons At some solemnities, and in public labours only, every one had a quantity given him proportioned to his age Drunkennels was confidered as the most odious of all vices Persons convicted of it, were publicly shaved, and their house was pulled down If they were in any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding any post under government

THE Mexicans were almost generally naked Their bodies were painted, and their heads shaded with plumes Some bones, or fmall pieces of gold, according to the rank of the persons, were fastened to their nofes and ears. The only clothing the and covered with branches of trees. They were BOOK prohibited from railing them above the ground, VI. floor. Several families were frequently heaped to-

gether under the same roof, . . The furniture was worthy of the dwellings.

In most of them, there was no other carpeting but mats, no other bed than straw, no seat but a layer of palm leaves, no utenfils except earthen ware. Cloths and carpets of cotton, wrought with more or less care, and employed for various purposes, were the chief distinctions between the houses of the rich, and those of the common

people.

Ir the arts of primary necessity were in so imperfect a flate at Mexico, we must conclude that those of ornament were still more so. The form and workmanship of the few vases and jewels of gold and filver that have been brought to us, is equally barbarous. The fame coarfeness prevails in those pictures, of which the first Spaniards fpoke with fo much admiration, and which were composed of feathers of all colours. These paintings are no longer existing, or are at least very fearce; but engravings have been made from them. The artift is infinitely below his subject, whether he represents plants, animals, or men. There is no light, nor fliade, nor defign, nor accuracy in his work : Neither had architecture made any greater progress in this country. Throughout the whole extent of the empire, there is no ancient menument to be found, that hath any kind of majefty in it: nor are there even any ruins which renew the idea of former greatness. The only things Mexico had to boast of, were the causeways that 'led up to the capital, and the aqueducts which brought the water for drinking from a very confiderable distance...

..:.

The feiences were still less advanced than the vi.

arts; and this is the natural confequence of the ordinary progress of the human mind. It is scarce possible that a people, whose civilization was not of ancient date, and who could not have received any instruction from their neighbours, should have the least extensive degree of knowledge. All that can be concluded from their religious and political institutions is, that they had made some little progress in astronomy. But how many ages would it have required to enlighten them, since they were deprived of the assistance of writing, and since they were still far distant from this powerful, and perhaps only mode of acquiring knowledge, as it appears from the imperfection of

their hieroglyphics. THESE were pictures traced out upon the barks of trees, upon' the fkins of fallow deer, or upon pieces of cotton; and deflined to preferve the memory of the laws, the tenets, and the revolutions of the empire. The number, the colour, and the attitude of the figures, were all varied according to the objects that were meant to be expressed. Although these impersect signs could not be supposed to have that distinct character which precludes every reasonable doubt, yet we may imagine, that when affifted by the traditions of focieties and families, they might convey fome infor-mation respecting past events. The indifference of the conquerors for every thing that had no reference to their infatiable avidity, made them neglect to inquire for the key of these important depolits. Soon after, their monks looked upon them as monuments of idolatry; and Zummarega, the first bishop of Mexico, condemned all that could be collected of them to the flames. The little that escaped from this fanatical conflagration, and which has been preferved in one or the other hemisohere.

misphere, has not contributed to dispel the dark-BOOK ness into which the negligence of the first Spaniards VI

had plunged us

THE zera of the foundation of the empire is even unknown The Castilian historians, indeed, tell us, that before the tenth century, this vast space was inhabited only by some wandering hords that were entirely favage. They tell us, that about this period, fome tribes iffuing from the North and North West, occupied parts of the territories, and introduced milder manners They tell us, that three hundred years after, a people full more advanced in civilization, and coming from the neighbourhood of California, fettled on the borders of the lakes and built Mexico there They tell us, that this last nation, fo superior to the others, had, for a long period, nothing but chiefs, whom they raifed to the government, or deprived them of it, as they found it fintable to their interests They tell us. that the authority, which 'till then had been divided and revocable, was concentrated in a fingle person, and became permanent, one hundred and thirty, or one hundred and ninety feven years before the arrival of the Spaniards They tell us, that the nine monarchs, who fuccessively ascended the throne, gave the domains of the flate and extention which they had not had under the former government But what degree of credit can we reasonably grant to annuls so consused and contradictory, and filled with the most absurd fables that have ever been proposed to the credulity of mankind? In order to believe that a fociety whose dominion was so extensive, whose institutions were so numerous, and whose form of worthip was fo regular, had fo modern an origin as it hath been faid, we should have other testimonies belide those of the fierce foldier, who had neither Vol. II. Ηh

BOOK the necessary talents nor the will to examine into C any thing, we should have other vouchers beside those fanatic priests, who were intent upon nothing elfe but erecting their own form of worthip upon the ruin of the Imperstitions they found ellablished there What should we know of China, if the Portuguese had been able to set it in slames, to subvert or destroy it, as they have done the Brazils? Should we at this day speak of the antiquity of the Chinese books, of their laws, and their manners? When some philosophers shall have been allowed to penetrate into Mexico, to fearth for, and to decypher the ruins of their history, and , that these learned men shall neither be monks nor Spaniards, but either English or French, who shall have full liberty, and all proper means for the discovery of truth, then, perhaps, we may gain some information concerning the history of this country, if barbarism hath not completely destroyed all the monuments that could affift in inveftigating it

THESE inquiries could not, however, lead to an exact knowledge of the ancient population of the empire, which, according to the reports of the conquerors, was immense The country places were covered with inhabitants, the towns were crowded with citizens, and the armies were very numerous Abfurd narrators! have we not been affured by you that it was a rifing flate. that it was continually diffurbed with obstinate wars, that all prisoners were either massacred upon the field of battle, or facrificed to the gods in the temples, that at the death of every emperor, of every cacique, and of every great man, a number of victims, proportioned to their dignity, were facrificed on their tombs, that from a prevailing depraced inclination the women were fuckled their chilin the east and west indies.

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dren for four or five years, and that they became BOOK barren at an early period; that the people groaned ! VI. . incessanily, and in all parts, under the oppressions of the treasury; that the provinces were covered with corrupted waters and vast forests; and that the Spanish adventurers had more to suffer from dearth, than from the length of marches, or the

darts of the enemy? " How shall-we reconcile facts certified by somany witnesses, with that excessive population so solemnly attefted in your proud annals? Before found philosophy had attentively considered your strange contradictions; and when the odium you had drawn upon yourfelves infured an implicit faith in your ablurd exaggerations, the universe, which faw no more than a defert in Mexico, was per-' fuaded that you had precipitated numberless generations into the grave. Undoubtedly, your ferocious foldiers did too often flain themselves with innocent blood; undoubtedly, your fanatic mif-· fionaries did not oppose these barbarities as they ought to have done; undoubtedly, a reftless tyranny, and an infatiable avarice, carried off from this unfortunate part of the world, many of it's feeble children: but still your cruelties were less than the nations have reason to suppose, from the accounts given by the historians of your ravages. And it is I, whom you look upon as the detractor of your character, who, while I accuse you of ignorance and imposture, become, as much as pot-

' lible, yoûr apologift. Would ye rather choose that the number of your affaillnations flould be exaggerated, than that your studidity and contradictions should be unmasked? In this place, I call Heaven to witness; I have been attentive only to cleanse you ' from the blodd with which you feem to make it your glory to be covered; and in every other part

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BOOK where I have spoken of you, my only delign hath VI. been to suggest means of restoring your nation to it's former splendour, and of alleviating the destiny of those wretched people that are subject to your empire. If you discover in me any secret hatred, or any motive of felf-interest, I give myfelf up to your contempt. Have I treated the other destroyers of the New World, even the French, my own countrymen, with more caution? Why, therefore, should you be the only people who are offended? Because you have nothing but pride remaining. Become powerful again, and you will become less captious; and truth, while it makes you blush, will cease to anger you.

WHATEVER - was the , population of Mexico, the taking of the capital occasioned the subjection of the whole state; which was not so extensive as it hath been generally supposed to be., Upon the South Sea, the empire began only at Nicaragua, and ended at Acapulco; and even part of the coasts watered by this ocean, had never been fubdued. Upon the North Sea, there was fearce any thing that interfected it from the river of Tabasco to that of Panuco: but in the inland parts, Tlascala, Tepeaca, Mechoacan, Chiapa, and some other less considerable districts, had preserved their independence. Their freedom was taken from them in less than a year by the conqueror, who found it sufficient to send ten, fifteen, or twenty horse, to preclude all refistance; and before the end of the year 1522, the pro-. cans, and rendered the communication between their possessions difficult or impracticable, con-, stituted all a part of the Spanish dominion. In process of time, it acquired immense additions on the northern fide. These would even have

been more confiderable, and particularly more rook wifeful, had it not been for the incredible barbarities that accompanied or followed the acquisition of them.

As foon as the Castilians hade made themselves mafters of Mexico, they divided the best lands' among themselves; they reduced to slavery the people who had cleared them, and condemned them to labours incompatible with the nature of their constitution, and repugnant to their habits. This fyftem of general oppression excited considerable infurrections. These arose without a concurrence of measures, without a chief to direct them, and without a plan; they were the effect of despair alone; and ended to the disadvantage of the too unfortunate Indians. An irritated conqueror, with fire and fword in hand, paffed with extreme rapidity from one extremity of the empire to the other, and left in all parts memorable traces of vengeance, the details of which would make the most bloody minded men shudder. There was a barbarous emulation between the officer and the foldier, which should sacrifice most victims; and even the commander himself, perhaps, surpassed his troops and lieutenants in ferocity. Conrez, however, did not reap the advantages

he might expect from 60 many acts of inhumanity. It began to be a maxim of policy in the court of Madrid, not to leave such of her subjects as had signalized themselves by some important discovery, time enough to settle themselves in their authority, from the apprehension, well or ill sounded, that they might think of rendering themselves independent of the Crown. If the conqueror of Mexico did not give a reason for adopting such a fister, he was at least one of the first victims of it. The committed powers he had at first enough to the did of the conqueror of the sister.

BOOK tailed, and in process of time, they were so exceedingly restrained, that he preferred a private fituation to the vain appearances of an authority accompanied with the greatest disgust This Spamard was despote and cruel, and his successes, are tarnished by the injustice of his projects. He was an affaffin covered with innocent blood, but his vices were of the times, and of his nation, and his virtues were his own. Let us place this man among the ancients, let us give him another country, another education, another turn mind, other manners, and a different religion Let us put him at the head of the fleet that advanced against Xerxes, or rect on him among the Spartans at the Streights of Thermopylæ, or suppose him to be one of those generous Batavians who freed themselves from the tyranny of their countrymen, and Cortez will ap pear a great man. His qualities will become heroic, and his memory will be irreproachable, Had Cæfar been born in the fifteenth century. and commanded at Mexico, he would have been a worse man than Cortez To find an excuse for the faults that have been laid to his charge, we must ask ourselves what better expectations we could have formed of a man, who treads for the first time upon unknown regions, and whose first object is to provide for I is own fafety? It would be highly unjust to confound him with the peaceible founder, who is acquainted with the country, and regulates the measures, the space, and the

External. bles with Mexico has been as tated

time, at pleafure SINCE Mexico had been subjected to the Casti and inter- liane, this immenfe country was no longer exposed to invasion It's provinces were not ravaged by any neighbouring or distant enemy peace it enjoyed was not diffurbed from without, except by pirates In the South Sea, the enterf nce it has prifes

prifes of these robbers were confined to the taking BOOK of a few ships but in the North Sea, they pil- VI laged Campeachy once, and Vera Cruz twice, and become a they frequently fpread deviftation upon coasts Spanish less known, less opulent, and not so well de rossession fended

While the navigation and the shores of this wealthy region were a prey to the pirates, and to the foundrons of the nations difgusted at the ambition of Spain, or merely jealous of it's supemority, the Chichemeeas diffurbed the interior part of the empire If we give credit to Herrera and Torquemada, these were the people who occupied the best parts of the country before the arrival of the Mexicans To avoid the voke defined for them by the conqueror, they took refuge in caverns and mountains, where their natural ferocity increased, and where they lead entirely the life of beafts. The new revolution which had nust changed the state of the former country, did not incline them to milder manners, and what they faw or learnt of the character of the Spaniards, inspired them with implacable hatred against a nation so proud and so oppressive, This passion, always terrible among favages, manifested itself by the ravages they committed in all the fettlements formed in their neighbourhood, and by the cruelties they exercifed upon those who attempted to open the mines In vain had forts and garrifons been flationed upon the frontiers, to contain or fuppress them, their rage continued incessantly 'till the year 1502 At this period, captain Caldena persuaded them to put an end to their hosti-In the view of rendering these pacific fentiments durable, the government made them build dwellings, collected them into feveral vil lages, and fent among them four hundred Tlafcalan

BOOK calan families, who were commissioned to instruct them in some arts, and to teach agriculture to a people who had hitherto been clothed only with the skins of beasts, and had lived entirely by hunting, or upon the spontaneous productions of nature. It was long before these prudent measures succeeded. The Chichemteas refused for a long time to receive the instructions the government had undertaken to give them, and even rejected every kind of intercourse with benevolent and American teachers. It was not 'till the year 1608, that Spain was freed from the care of clothing and feeding them.

EIGHTEEN years after, a most violent contest happened between the civil and ecclefiaftical power at Mexico. A man convicted of a multitude of crimes, fought impunity for all his enormities at the foot of the altars. The viceroy Gelves caused him to be dragged from thence. This act of necessary justice was construed into an outrage against the divinity. The thunder of excommunication was immediately fent forth; and the people rofe. The regular and fecular clergy took up arms. The palace of the commander was burnt; his guards, friends, and partizans, were put to the fword. He himfelf was put in irons, and fent to Europe, with feventy gentlemen who had not been afraid to espouse his cause. The archbishop, who was the author of all these calamities, and whose vengeance was not yet satisfied, pursued his victim, with the wish and desire of sacrificing him. The Court, after having hesitated for some time, decided at length in favour of fanaticism. The defender of the rights of the throne, and of order, was condemned to total oblivion; and his fuccessor was authorized folemnly to confecrate all the notions

notions of superstition, and particularly the super- B O O K stition of alylums.

THE word asylum, taken in it's full extent, might fignify any place, privilege, or diffinction, that protects a criminal from the impartial exercife of justice. For what is the claim that weakens and suspends the authority of the law? An alylum. What is the place of confinement that withdraws the guilty from the prison common to all malefactors? An afylum. What is a retreat where the creditor cannot go and feize upon his fraudulent debtor? An afylum. What is a district where one may exercise all the functions of fociety without authority, and in a country where all the rest of the citizens cannot obtain that privilege without a premium? 'An afylum. What is a tribunal to which one may appeal from a definitive fentence pronounced by another, which is supposed to be the last resort of the law? An afylum. What'is 'an exclusive privilege, for whatever motive it may have been folicited and obtained? An afylum. In an empire, where the citizens partaking unequally of the advantages of fociety do not share the burdens of it in proportion to these advantages, what are the different diffinctions that relieve some at the expence of others? They are afylums.

THE alylums of the tyrant, of the prieft, of the stateman, of the nobleman, of the contractor, and of the merchant, are well known; and i twoid name those of aimost all the ranks of society. What portion is there indeed of society that hath not a protection for a certain number of malversations, which it may commit with impunity?

The most dangerous of asylums, however, is not that into which a man may make his escap-, but that which he carnes about with him, that HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

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BOOK which accompanies and invests the guilty performance which ferres him as a shield, and which forms between him and me an inclosure in the centered which he stands, and from whence he may include which he stands, and from whence he may include the search him. Such

which he flands, and from whence he may infalt me, while punishment cannot reach him. Sad are the ecclesiastical habit and character. Each the one and the other were formerly a fost of asylum, where the impunity of the most fastious crimes was almost affured. Is this punises entirely abolished? We have frequently see monks and priests thrown into prison; but we fearce have ever feen any of them taken out from thence to be conveyed to the public place of execution.

WHAT! because a man is obliged by his profession to have a peculiar fanctity of manners shall he obtain privileges, and be treated with commiseration that shall be refused to the crim nal who is not bound by the fame obligations If it be urged, that there is a respect due tobs functions, to his cloth, and to his character; " shall answer, that justice is equally and without If the fuoid diffinction due to every citizen. of the law be not moved indifcriminately in even direction ; if it should be unsteady, or if it should be raifed or lowered in favour of any one it ma meet with in it's passage, that society is not ut regulated. There exists in it, under another nam and under another form, a detestable privile a protection denied to fome, and referred others.

But these kinds of asylums, though general contrary to the prosperity of societies, shall there engage our attention. We shall only spoof those which temples or places of divine work have associated, and still continue to associate in the globe.

THESE places of refuge were known to ancients. In Greece, when that country was

but half civilized, it was thought that tyranny BOOK could not be reftrained otherwise than by religion. VI. The statues of Hercules, of Theseus, and of Pirithous, seemed well calculated to inspire villains with terror, when they had no longer the vengeance of these heroes to dread. But as soon as the asylum, instituted in favour of innocence, served only for the preservation of the guilty, and was made subservient either to the interests or yanity of those who granted the protection, these

places of retreat were abolifhed.

OTHER PEOPLE, in imitation of the Greeks, established assume, But the citizen used to put himself under the protection of the gods; merely to avoid the armed hand that pursued him. There, he called upon the law, and summoned the people to his assistance. His sellow cutzens, together with the magistrate, drew near, and the man was examined before them. If it was found that he had abused the assymment, one for the crime he had committed, the other for having profaned the place in which he had taken refuge.

When Romulus wanted to people his city, he made an afylum of it; and fome temples, in the times of the republic, were devoted to this purpole. After the death of Julius Caefar, the truumvirate made an afylum of his chapel. In after ages, the fervility of the people frequently erected the fluxes of tyrants into places of refuge. From thence it was that the flave infulted his mafter, and that the diffurber of public tranquillity fined up the populace against good men.

This homble inflitution of barbarifm and paganifm orafioned inexpressible evils, when Christianity, ascending the throne of the empire, did not fettige to adopt and even to extend it.

The

BOOK The consequences of this ecclesiastical policy were.

"YI. foon severely felt. The laws lost their authority, and the order of society was subverted. The magistrate then attacked these asylums with courage; the priest desended them with obstinacy. A warm contest was carried on for many centuries with great animosity. The party that prevailed under the reign of a firm prince, was depressed under that of a superstitution. Some Sometimes this asylum was general, and sometimes it was under restrictions. It was annihilated at one period, and restored at another.

In an inflitution so evidently contrary to natural equity, to evil law, to the sanctive of religion, to the spirit of the gospel, and to the good order of society, the circumstances that should naturally tend most to assume a serious serious that thouse the contradiction of the casons, and the obstinacy of several bishops; but more especially the extravagant absurdity of the lawyers, in determining, with precision, the extent of the significant of the serious contrasted in the serious serious the serious the serious seri

It is very extraordinary, that in a long succession of generations, not one ecclessatiot, not one magnifrate, not even one suggle man, should have reminded his extemporaries of the bright days of Christianity. Formerly, he might have said to them, the sinner was detained for years at the gate of the temple, where he exparted his fault, exposed to the injuries of the air, in the presence of all his brethren, and of

all the citizens He was not allowed to enter the BOOK church, except by degrees', nor to approach the - 11 fanctuary, but in proportion as his penance drew near to an end And in our days, a villain, an extortioner, a thief, and an affalfin covered with blood, not only finds the gates of our temples open to him, but also meets with protection, impunity, food, and fecunity

Bur if the affaffin had plunged his dagger into the breaft of a citizen, even upon the steps of the altar, what must be done in that case? Shall the place of the bloody scene become his asylum? This would certainly be a privilege very convement for criminals Why should they murder in the streets, in the houses, or upon the highways, where they may be leized, should they not rather choose to affastinate in the churches? There never was a more disgusting instance of the contempt of the laws, and of the ambition of the clergy, than this immunity granted by the churches It was referved to superstition to make the Supreme Being, in this world, the protector of the fame crimes which he punishes in another with eternal sufferings Let us hope that the extremity of the evil will point out more fentibly the necessity of the remedy

This fortunate revolution will be brought about later at other places than at Mexico, where the people are plunged in a flate of flill more profound ignorance than in the other regions subject to Ca ftille in 1732, the conforming elements fuellowed up one of the richest fleets that had ever been difpatched from this opulent part of the New World Universal despair prevailed in the two hemi-spheres Amongst a people plunged in superstition, all events are miraculous, and the anger of Heaven was generally confidered 25 the fole cause of this great disafter, which might very postbly

BOOK possibly have been brought about by the inexperience of the pilot, or by other causes equally natural An auto da se appeared to be the surest method of recovering the divine savour, and thirty eight wretched prople perished in the standard attention.

METHINKS I am present at this horrible ex piation I behold it, and exclaim, . Stop, execrable monsters! What connexion is there between the calamity you have experienced and , the pretended or real crime of those whom you detain in your prisons? If they entertain opi ' mons which render them odious to the Al ' mighty, it belongs to him to crush them with 's his thunder. He hath borne with them for a great number of years, and full continues to
bear with them, and yet you torment them
If it were his will to condemn them to eternal punishments on the terrible day of his vengeance, does it belong to you to accelerate their chastifement? Why should you deprive them of the inftant of repentance, which per haps awaits them, in the decline of life, in the . hour of danger, or the period of fickness? But infamous wretches as ye are, diffolute priefts, and lib dinous monks, were not your \* crimes sufficient to fur up the anger of Heaven? " Correct yourselves, prostrate yourselves at the foot of the alters, cover yourfelves with fack ' cloth and aftes, unplore the mercy of the Most " High, rather than employ yourseives in leading to the stake a number of innocent persons, whole death, far from wiping away your crunes, will only increase the number of them, by thirty eight more, for which you will rever be forgiven To appeale the Deity, ye burn mankind! Are ye worshippers of Moloch?' But BOOK ye hear me not, and the unfortunate victims of VI your superstitious cruelty are already cast into the flames

Soon after this, the New Mexico, which was bordering and dependent upon the Old, was afflicted with a calamity of another kind. This valt region, lituated, for the most part, under the temperate zone, was for a time unknown to the ravagers of America. The missionary Ruys first penetrated into it in 1580 He was foon after followed by the captain Espajo, and, laftly, by John d'Onaste, who, by a series of labours, begun in 1599, and terminated in 1611, fucceeded in opening fome mines, in multiplying cattle and means of sublistence, and in fettling firmly the Spanish dominion The order he had established was disturbed in 1652 by civil com-, motions In the course of these animolities. Rofas the commandant was affaffinated, and his friends, who attempted to avenge his death, perished after him. These acts of violence continued till the tardy arrival of Pagnaloffe This intrepid and tevere commander had almost stiffed the rebellion, when, in a transport of just indignation, he gave a blow to a turbulent monk, who was speaking to him in an insolent manner, and even dared to threaten him. The priefts, who were mafters of the country, immediately feized upon his perfor. He was excommunicated, delivered up to the inquisition, and sentenced to confiderable fines in vain did he urge the court to avenge the royal authority infulted in his person, the influence of his enemies prevuled over his folicitations. Their rage and their power made him even apprehend a more fatal deftiny, and in order to avoid their daggers, and to with

TE O O K draw himfelf from their intrigués, he took refuge in England, abandoning the reins of government to whoever would or could get hold of them. His flight plunged the province into fresh missortunes, and it was not till after ten years of anarchy and carnage, that every thing was brought again into

order and subjection CAN any thing be more abfurd than this authonty of the monks in America? They are a fet of men without knowledge and without principles, their independence tramples upon their inflitutions, and makes them regardless of their vows, their conduct is scandalous, their houses are so many places of evil refort, and their tribuhals of penance fo many trading shops From thence it is, that for a piece of money they quiet the conference of the villain, from thence it is, that they infinuate 'corruption into innocent minds, and that they seduce women and girls into debauchery they are a set of simonists, who make a public traffic of holy things Christianity they teach, is defiled with all forts of absurdaties Greedy of inheritance, they defraud, rob, and perjure themselves They degrade the magistrates, and thwart them in their There are no crimes which they operations cannot commit with impunity They inforce the people with a spirit of rebellion They are fo many encouragers of superstition, and the cause of all the troubles that have agitated these distant regions As long as they exist there they will keep up anarchy, from the confidence, as blind as it is unlimited, which they have obtained of the people, and from the pufillanimity with which they have inspired the depositaries of the authority, whom they dispose of at pleasure by their intrigues Let us therefore inquire of what great utility they are. Are they informers? A wife wife administration hath no need of them. Are BOOK they to be managed as a counterposite to the power of the viceroy? This is an idle apprehension. Are they tributaries of the great? This is an evil that must be put a stop to. Under whatever aspect we consider matters, the monks are a set of wretches, who scandalize and disturb Mexico too much to be allowed to remain there any

longer.

Subjection and order were again diffurbed, and more generally so in 1593, by a law which forbade the Indians the use of strong liquors. This prohibition could not have for it's object the liquors of Europe, which were necessarily too high priced ever to be used by men living in a constant state of oppression, and incessarily stripped of their property. It was only from the palm wine that the government endeavoured to wean them.

This liquor is drawn from a plant known

at Mexico by the name of maguey, and refembling the aloës in it's form. It's leaves. collected about the neck of the root, are thick, pulpous, almost straight, feveral feet in length; hollowed in the form of a gutter, thorny on the back, and terminated by a very tharp point, The stem, which rifes out of this tuft, ascends to twice it's heighth, and bears upon it's branching top yellowish flowers. Their calix, with fix divisions, is charged with an equal number of stamina It adheres at the bottom to the pistil. which, together with it, becomes a capinla with. three cells filled with feeds. The maguey grows in every part of Mexico, and is eafily multiplied from flips . Hedges are made of it. It's feveral parts have each of them their utility. The roots are employed for cordage; the stems furnish wood, the points of the leaves ferve for nails, or Vol. II. li

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BOOK needles; and even the leaves themselves are fit VI. for thatching the roofs; and a threed is produced from them fit for the manusacture of various looms.

Bur the most esteemed produce of the maguey is a sweet and clear water, which is collected by means of a hole made with an instrument in the middle of the tuft, after the shoots and the inward leaves are removed. This hole, which is three or four inches deep, is filled and emptied every day; and the liquor continues running u this manner for a whole year, sometimes even for eighteen months This liquor, when inspissated forms a real fugar; but when mixed with fpring water, and laid by in vales, it acquires, afte having fermented four or five days, the sharpnet of cyder, and almost the same kind of taste. orange or lemon peel be added to it, it become intoxicating This property renders it still moragreeable to the Mexicans, who not being abl to confole themselves for the loss of their liberty endeavour to forget the humiliating state of their flavery .- Accordingly, the attention of the Indian is continually turned towards the houses wher this liquor is distributed. They pass whole day and weeks there; they leave the subsistence of the families in them, and very frequently the fer clothes they have.

The Spanish ministry, informed of these excesses, wished to put a stop to them; but did no set about it in a proper manner. Instead of bring ing back the people to good morals by patern cares, and by the most effectual mode of instruction, they had recourse to the state expedient cares, and by the most effectual mode of instruction, they had recourse to the state expedient cares, and by the most effectual mode of instruction, they had recourse to the state expedient cares, and by the most effectual mode of metric tion, they had recourse to the state expedient care multiplied, and acts of violence repeated, from one extremity of the empire to the other. The government was obliged to give

Way; and withdrew these prohibitive acts: but BOOK to indemnify itself for the sacrifice of it's authority, taxes were laid upon this liquor, which bring in annually to the treasury eleven or twelve thousand livres.

Five and twenty or thirty years after this, a new scene of a particular kind was opened at Mexico In this important possession, the police was so much neglected, that all the roads were feized upon by a numerous band of robbers. No citizen' could venture to go our of his house without a passport from the chiefs of these ban-Whether from careleffness, weakness, or corruption, the magistrate took no measures to put an' end to fo great a calamity. At length, the court of Madrid, roused by the clamours of a whole nation, committed the care of the public security to Valesques. This equitable, firm, and first man, independent of the tribunals and the viceroy, succeeded at length in re-establishing order, and fixing it upon to firm a basis, that it hath never fince been shaken.

A war undertaken againft the people of Cinaloa, Sonora, and New Navarre, hath been the laft remarkable event that hath diffurbed the empire. These provinces, situated between Old and New Mexico, did not make a part of Montezuma's dominions. It was not 'till 1540, that the devastators of 'the New World penetrated into them, under' the command of Vasquès Coronado. They sound there some petty nations, who, upon the borders of the sea, lived by fishing, and in the 'inland parts upon the produce of the chase; and who, when these means of substitute failed them, had no other resource than in the spontaneous productions of nature.

\* From 4581 6s. 8d to 5041.

vinces, missionaries, troops, miners, provisions, Book merchandise, and every other thing that was want-

In the mean while, it was indispensably necesfary previously to gain over the natives of the country by acts of humanity, or to subdue them by force of arms. But how was it possible to conciliate men who were to be used as beasts of burden, or to be buried alive within the bowels of the earth? Accordingly, the government refolved upon force, and war was deferred only from the incapacity in an exhausted treasury to bear the expence of it At length, in 1768, a credit of twelve hundred thousand livres was found, and hoftlittes commenced Some hords of favages submitted after a trifling resistance. This was not the case with the Aplachians, the most warlike of these nations, and the most eager for independence. They were purfued without intermission for three years, with a view of exterminating them Great God! what an idea! To exterminate men! Could we fay otherwise of wolves? Exterminate them, and for what? Because they were a high minded people, and were fensible of the natural right they had to liberty, because they disdained to be slaves And yet we call ourselves civilized people, and Christians1

The inflance of both the intern and new conquests from the center of authority, gave reason to think that they would be in a languid state, 'till they should be surmished with an independent administration. A particular commander was therefore given to them, who, with a title

BOOK In these districts, neither clothing nor huts were in use Branches of trees to shade them from the heats of a burning sun; and reeds tied toge ther to shelter them from the torrents of rain these were the only contrivances thought of by the inhabitants to guard against the inclemency of the seasons. During the several frosts they slept in the open air, round the fires which they had bindled.

This country, in appearance to poor, contained mines, which tome Spaniards undertool to work. They were found to yield plenufully, and yet the greedy proprietors of them did not enrich themselves. As it was necessary to bring from Vera Cruz, upon the back of mules, through a difficult and dangerous road of fir or seven hundred leagues, the quickfilver, the stuffs, and most of the articles required for substitutes and for the labours, all these objects, when they arrived at the spot, had increased so much in value, that the most fortunate undertaking scarce furnished a sufficiency to pay for them.

In became necessary to abandon the whole, or to take other measures, the last of these schemes was resolved upon. The Jestur Ferdinand Consang was commissioned, in 1746, to reconnoutre the gulph of California, which borders these immense regions. After this navigation, conducted with stall, the Court of Madrid became acquainted with the coasts of the continent, with the harbours that nature has formed there, with the sandy and and places that are not susceptible of cultivation, and with the mers, which, by the sertility they diffuse along their borders, nivite to the establishing of colonies in those parts. Nothing, in suture, could prevent the stips that saided out of Acapulco, from entering the Vermeil Sea, from conveying vith ease into the neighbouring pro-

vinces, missionaries, troops, miners, provisions, BOOK's merchandise, and every other thing that was want-VI. de for the colonies,' and from returning laden with metals

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BOO Lless pompous than that of Viceroy of New Spain, enjoyed the fame prerogatives

Progress under the ment of Spain

We must now examine to what degree of of Mexico prosperity Mexico hath risen, notwithstanding the enormous loffes it has experienced from foreign enemies, and notwithstanding the domestic troubles with which it hath to frequently been agitated

THE largest of the Cordelerrins mountains, after having croffed all South America, becomes lower and narrower in the istlimus of Panama. continues in the fame form through the provinces of Costa Rieca, Nicaragua, and Guatimala, spreads stielf and rifes again throughout the rest of Mexico, but without ever approaching to that prodigious height which it hath in Peru This alteration is more particularly remarkable towards the South Sea The shores here are extremely deep, and no bottom is to be found except very near the land, while in the Northern Sea, it is found at a great distance from the continent Accordingly, the roads are as good and as frequent in the first of these seas, as they are scarce and bad in tle other

THE climate of a region fituated almost entirely in the torrid zone, is alternately damp and hot. These variations are more perceptible and more common in the low, marfly, woody, and uncultivated diffricts of the East, than in those parts of the empire, which beneficent nature hath treated more favourably

THE quality of the foil is also very different. Sometimes it is barren, fometimes fertile, according as it is mountainous, level, or funk under the waters

No fooner were the Spaniards mafters of this opulent and immense country, than they hastened to build cities upon it, in those places which ap-

peared

peared to them best calculated for the maintenance B O O K of their authority, and in those which promised them greater advantages from their conquest Such of the Europeans as chose to fix there, obtained a sufficient extent of territory, but they were obliged to fearch for planters, whom the law did not allow them

AVOTHER arrangement of things vas observed in the country places They were most of them distributed to the conquerors in reward of their blood or their fervices The extent of these domains, which were only granted for two or three generations, was proportioned to rank and favour. A greater or less number of Mexicans were attached to them as vallals Cortez had three and twenty thousand of them in the provinces of Mexico, Tlascala, Mechoacan, and Oaxaca, but with this diffunction, that they were to belong to his family in perpetuity Oppression must have been less severe in these hereditary post shons than in the rest of the empire, since in 1746, fifteen thousand nine hundred and forty Indians were still reckoned there, with eighteen hundred Spaniards, Mestees, or Mulattoes, and fixteen hundred negro flaves

The country had none of the animals necesfary for the substitute of it's new inhabitants, for plowing the lands and for the other wants inseparable from a mixed society. These things were all brought from the islands already subjected to Castile, which had themselves lately received them from our hemssphere. The animals propagated with incredible rapidity. But they all of them degenerated, and how indeed was it possible that they should not have experienced very evident alterations, when they were weakened by crossing the seas, deprived of their ordinary food, and given up to the hands of persons who were incroable.

BOOK capable of rearing and taking care of them? The theep were the most materially affected Mendoza had some rams brought from Spain in order to renew the degenerated race, and fince that period, the fleeces have been found of a sufficient good quality to supply materials for considerable manufactures.

THE multiplication of the cattle brought on a great increase in the cultures To the maize, which had always been the principal food of the Mexicans, the grains of our countries were added At first they did not thrive The seeds of them. thrown at hazard among the briars, did not at first yield any thing but thick and barren weeds A vegetation too rapid and too vi-gorous, did not allow them time to ripen, nor even to form themselves. but this superabundance of juices gradually diminished, and at length most of our seeds, vegetables, and fruits were seen to pro per If the vine and the olive tree were not naturalized in this part of the New World, this was owen to the prohibition of government, which intended to leave a mart open for the productions of the mother country. Perhaps the foil and the climate would themselves have rejected these precious plants, at least we have an authority for thinking so, when we see that the experiments which the Jefuits, and the heirs of Cortez were allowed to try, about the year 1706, were not successful, and that those which have fince been made, have not been much more fo

Cotton, tobacco, cocoa, fugar, and fome other productions, were in general professions but for want of lands or industry, these articles were confined to an inland circulation. There is nothing but Jalap, vanilla, indigo, and cochincal,

neal, which constitutes the trade of New Spain BOOK with other nations.

JALAP is one of the purgatives of most fre- of the quent use in medicine. It derives it's name from culture of the town of Xalapa, in the environs of which it jalap. grows plentifully. It's root, which is the only part in use, is tuberose, large, lengthened out into the form of a French turnip, white on the . infide, and full of a milky juice. The plant which - it produces, hath been for a long time unknown. At present, we are informed, that it is a species of convolvulus, refembling in it's appearance that of our hedges. It's flem is climbing, angular, and covered with a flight down. It's leaves, alternately disposed, are rather large, downy on the upper fide, and wrinkled on the under, and marked with feven coftæ: they are fometimes entire and cordiform, fometimes divided into feveral lobes, more or less distinct. The flowers, which grow in clufters along the ftem, have a ealix, acorn-like at it's base, deeply divided into-five parts, and accompanied with two flowery · leaves. The corolla, which is large, and campaniform, whitish on the outside, and of a dark purple within, supports five white stamma of unequal length. The germen, which is placed in the middle, and: furmounted with a fingle flyle, becomes, as it ripens, a round capfula, inclosing in a fingle cell four feeds of a red colour, and very hairy.

Two plant is not only found in the reighbourhood of Xalapa, but also among the fands of - Vera-Cruz. It is eafily cultivated. The weight . of the roots is from twelve to twenty pounds. They are cut into flices, in order to dry them. They then acquire a brown colour, and a refinous appearance. The tafte of them is rather acrid. and excites a nausea. The best jalap is close, refinous,

it may be inferred, that fuch a kind of foil is the BOOK fittelf for it's cultivation. In order to multiply it, it is sufficient to plant at the foot of the trees fome brunches or twigs, which take root and rife up in a short time. Some cultivators, in order to preserve their plants from rotting, preser the fastening of them to trees, even at the heigh, of a foot from the ground. These plants soon throw out filaments, which descending in a strait line, penetrate into the earth, and form roots there.

THE feafon for gathering the pods begins to-wards the end of September, and lasts about three months The aromatic that is peculiar to them cannot be obtained without preparation. This preparation confifts in threading feveral pods, and dipping them for a moment in a caldron of boiling water to whiten them. They are afterwards fufpended in a place exposed to the open air, and to the rays of the fun A thick and plentiful liquor then diffils from their extremity, the exit of which is facilitated by a flight preffure, repeated two or three times in the course of the day. In order to retard the drying, which ought to go on flowly, they are rubbed over at feveral different times with oil, which preferves their fuppleness, and keeps them from infects They are also tied round with a cotton thread to prevent them from opening When they are sufficiently dried, they are rubbed in hands anointed with oil, and they are put unto a pot that is varnished, in order to keep them fresh

This is all that is I nown of the varilla, which is particularly appropriated to perfume chocolate, the use of which has passed from the Mexicans to the Spaniards, and from them to other nations, and even this information, which we have obtained concerning it, is entirely modern, and

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NO ON refinous, brown, not eafily broken, and unflammer mable. It is given only in fimal dofes, because it is a another and violent purgative. It is refinous extract, made with spirit of wine, is employed for the same purposes, but with full greater caution. There are seven thousand five hundred quintals of this root consumed ar nually in Euronewhich.

Of the cultu e of the yan.lla cost one one livres . THE vanilla is a plant which, like the ivy, grows to the trees it meets with, covers them almost entirely, and raises itself by their aid It's flem, of the thickness of the little finger, is greenth, flethy, almost cylindrical, knotty at intervals, and farmentose, as that of the vine Fach knot is furnished with ab alternate leaf, rather thick, of an oval flape, eight inches long and three broad. It also pures forth roos, which penetrating the barks of the trees, extracts a sufficient degree of nourfliment from them to support the plant for fome time in ugour, when by accident the bottom of the ftem happens to be damaged, or even separated from the pri cipal root This ftem, when grown to a certain height, branches out, Ipreads tideways, and is covered with clusters of flowers, rather large, white on the infide, and greet ifh without Five of the divisions of their calix are long narrow, and undulated The fixth, which is more internal, appears in the form of a horn The piftil, which they crown, supports a fingle framina It becomes, as it ripens, a fleshy fruit, formed like a pod, of feven or eight inches long, which opens into three valves loaded with fmall feeds

This plant grows naturally in uncultivated lands that are always damp, formetimes under water, and covered with large trees, from whence

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dregs

that lies on the leaves, and which is very value BOOK able, fall off by shaking it. When gathered, it is thrown into the steeping var, which is a large tub filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermen ation, which in twenty four hours at furthest is completed. A cock is then turned, to let the water run into the second tub, called the morter or pounding tub. The steeping var is then cleaned out, that fresh plants may be thrown in, and thus the work is continued without interruption.

THE water which hath run into the poundingtub, is found impregnated with a very fubtile earth, which alone conflitutes the dregs or blue fubstance that is the object of this process, and which must be separated from the useless falt of the plant, because this makes the dregs swim on the furface. To effect this, the water is forcibly agitated with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This part of the process requires the greatest precautions the aguation be discontinued too soon, the part that is used in dying, not being sufficiently separated from the falt, would be loft. If, on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after the complete feparation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination, and the filt re acting on the dregs would excite a keond fermentation, that would alter the dye, spoil it's colour, and make what is called burnt indigo. These recidents are prevented by a close attention to the least alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take to draw out a little of it from time to time in a clean reffel. When they perceive that the coloured particles collect by feparating from the rest of the liquor, they leave off flinking the buckers, in order to allow time to the blue

\* ^

BOOK the earth, and reftore to it in dew what it lofes in VI. fap. It is in order to maintain this reciprocal influence, that, when there are no trees to preferve the fields in a proper flate for the fowing of indigo, it is cultomary to cover those which are exhausted by this plant with potatoes or lianes, the creeping branches of which preferve the freshness of the earth, while the leaves, when burnt, renew it's fertility.

INDIGO is distinguished into several species, of which only two are cultivated. The true indigo, which is the fort we have been speaking of, and the bastard indigo, which differs from the former, in having a much higher, more woody, and more durable ftem; in having it's foliola longer and narrower, it's pods more curved, and it's feeds black. Thought the first be sold at a higher price, it is usually advantageous to cultivate the other, because it is not so frequently renewed, is heavier, and yields more leaves, the produce of which is, however, lefs, from an equal quantity. The first will grow in many different foils; the fecond fucceeds best in those which are most exposed to the rain. Both are liable to great accidents in their early state. They are some times burnt up by the heat of the fun, or choaked by a web with which they are furrounded by an intect peculiar to these regions ' Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and is destroyed by another very common infect; et other times, the leaves, which are the valuable part of the plant, are del voured in the space of twenty-kur hours by caterpillars 'This last misfortune, which is but 'too common, hath given occasion to the faying, that the planters of inchgo went to bed rich, and role in the morning totally ruined -

Turs production ought to be gathered in with great precaution, for fear of making the farma

that lies on the leaves, and which is very valu-BOOK able, fall off by flaking it. When gathered, it is thrown into the fleeping vat, which is a large tub filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermen ation, which in twenty-four hours at fartheft is completed. A cock is then turned, to let the water run into the fecond tub, called the mortar or pounding tub. The fleeping vat is then cleaned out, that fresh plants may be thrown in; and thus the work is continued without interruption.

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B O O k dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub,
where they are left to fettle till the water is quite
clear. Holes made in the tubs at different heights
are then opened one after another, and this ufelefs
water is let out

The blue dregs remaining at the bottom having acquired the confiftence of a thick muddy liquid, cocks are then opened, which draw it off into the fettler. After it is full more cleared of much superfluous water in this third and last tub, it is drained into facks, from whence, when water no longer filters through the cloth, this matter, now become of a thicker confistence, is put into chests, where it entirely loses it's most-ture. At the end of three months the indigo is fit.

It is used in washing to give a blueish colour to linen painters also employ it in their water colours, and dyers cannot make fine blue without indigo. The ancients procured it from the East Indies, in modern times it has been translated into America. The cultivation of it, incoessively attempted at different places, appears to be fixed at Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, San Domingo, and Mexico. This last fort, which is the most effected, is known by the name of Guaumala indigo, because it grows upon the district of that samous city. The manner in which it is procured is worthy of remark

In these beautiful countries, where every estate is from fisteen to twenty leagues in extent, a part of this large space is annually devoted to the culture of indigo. For this purpose it is sufficient to barn the strubs which cover the grounds, and carelesly to pass the plough once over them. This is done in the month of March a season in which it very seldom rains in this delightful cli-

mate. A man on horfeback then featters the B O O K feed of the plant, in the fame manner as we fow VI.

corn in Burope. No one then pays any attention this valuable production, 'till the time of gather' ing it.

ing it.

From hence it happens that the indigo grows in some places and not in others; and that the indigo which does not rife, is frequently choaked by the weeds, from which it might have been preserved by pulling them up frequently. Accordingly, the Spaniards gather less indigo from an extent of three or four leagues, than other nations do from a few acres of land carefully managed; and their indigo, though much superior to any other, is not yet, so perfect as it might be. Europe receives annually fix thoughand quintals of it; which cost 7,626,960 livers.

This prosperity would infallibly increase, if the court of Madrid were to enable the natives to cultivate indigo on their own account. This personal interest thus substituted to a foreign one; would render them more active and more intelligent; and it is probable that the abundance and superiority of the Mexican indigo, would in time exclude that of the other colonies from all the markets.

'The cochineals to which we owe our beautiful of the fearlet and purple colours, has not yet been found culture of any where but in Mexico. I had afferted, from head the refutmony even of the beet writers, that the nature of this colour was not known before the beginning of this century. Upon fearching into the originals, I find, that Acofta, in 1530, and Herrera, in 1601, had described it, as well as our modern maturalists. I therefore retract, and

\* 317,790l, \* 17,15

BOOK wish I could have an opportunity of doing the fa VI. with regard to many other things I have written the Spaniards The ignorance of travellers, the levity with which they confider the producti of nature in all it's kingdoms, is the reason natural history is so full of falsities, which from one work to another, and which are tr mitted, from age to age, by authors, who cessively copy each other. We scarce give selves the trouble to examine, what we think are well acquainted with; and thus it is, that a having propagated error, the testimonies w delay inquiries prolong the duration of it still in Another inconvenience arifing from this is, philosophers lose time, which is precious, in fo ing fyftems which impose upon'us, 'till the prete ed facts upon which they were founded, have I thewn to be falle.

THE cochineal is an infect of the fize and f of a bug. The two fexes are distinct as in other animals. The female, fixed upon a r of the plant, almost from the first instant of birth, remains always attached to it-by a of trunk, and presents to the eye only an he pherical crust, which covers all the other t This covering is changed twice in twenty days, and is fprinkled over with a white thick duft, which is immiscible with water. this period, which is that of puberty, the r which is much smaller and more slightly n issues out of a farmaceous tube, by mean wings with which he is provided. He flu each of them. The fame female is thus v . by feveral males, who perish soon after for dation. The bulk of the female valibly enla 'ull a drop of liquid, which escapes from t her, shews that the eggs, which are in

appears quite green, while upon the oppolite

number, will foon make their appearance. The BOOK little infects burft their covering at the time of VI. their birth, and foon fpread themselves over the plant, to choose a favourable spot to fix upon. They particularly endeavour to thelter themselves from the east wind. Accordingly, the hrub upon which they live, when viewed on that side,

side, which the insects have preserred, it is

white. THIS shrub, which is known by the name of nopal, or Indian fig, is about five feet high. It's stem is fleshy, large, flattened, downy, a little rough, and covered with clusters of thorns. regularly disposed upon it's surface, i It branches out very much, and grows narrow, as well as it's branches, at every point of ramification: this gives to each portion of the plant thus made narrow, the form of an oval, thick, and thorny leaf. It hath no other leaves but thefe. flowers, scattered over the young stems, are composed of a scaly calix which supports several petals and stamina. The pistil, surmounted with a fingle ftyle, and concealed at the bottom of the calix, grows along with it into a fruit that is fit for eating: it refembles a fig. and is full of feeds, fixed in a kind of reddish pulp.

which have a imooth stem, with a number of thorns placed too close to each other, are not fit for the breeding of the cochineal. These insects thrive well only on that fort which hath sew thorns, and a downy surface proper to give them a firmer footing. Wind, and cold rain, as well as too much damp, are injurious to the plant. The mode of lopping the trees is not advantageous. It is better to re-plant it every fix years, by putting several peecs of the stems into

BOOK cavities of fome depth, disposed in a quincunx, of a square, at the distance of six or eight feet from each other. A spot thus planted, and distinguished by the name of Nopalry, is usually no more than one or two acres in extent, seldom three. Each acre produces as much as two quintals of cochineal, and one man is sufficient to cultivate it; he must weed frequently, but with precaution; in order not to disturb the insect, which would not survive if it were displaced. The cultivator must also take care to get rid of the animals that would destroy the plant, the most formidable of which is a caterpillar, which makes it's way even through the inside of the plant, and attacks the insect underneath.

EIGHTEEN months after the plantation, the nopal is covered with cochineals; but in order to distribute them more regularly over the whole plant, and to prevent them from injuring each other, from their proximity, fmall nefts, made of the outlide rind of the cocoa, open to the well. and filled with twelve or fifteen females ready to lay their eggs, are fixed to spines at certain distances. The little ones which come out, fix themselves on the nopal, and attain to their utmost growth in two months, which is the limited duration of their life. They are then gathered, and this operation is renewed every two-months from October to May. The crop may be less · valuable if it should be mixed with another kind of cochineal of a lower price, or if there be a great quantity of males, which are in little eftimatten, because they are less, and that they fall off before the time This crop is to be gathered some days before the laying of the eggs, either to prevent the loss of the eggs, which are rich in colour, or to hinder the little ones from fixing upon a plant which is already exhausted, and must

be left to itself for a few months. Beginning then BOOK by the bottom of the plant, the cochineals are successively detached with a knife, and are made to fall into a basion placed underneath, one of the edges of which being flattened, adapts itself exactly to the plant, which is afterwards cleaned with the

fame knife, or with a cloth.

IMMEDIATELY before the rainy feason comes on, in order to prevent the total destruction of the cochineals, which might be occasioned by the unwholesomeness of the air, the branches of the nopal, loaded with infant infects, are cut off. These branches are laid up in the houses, where they maintain their freshness, as all muculaginous plants do. Here the cochineals thrive during the bad season. As soon as that is passed, they are placed on the trees, where the vivifying freshness of the air soon makes them propagate.

THE wild cochineal, a different species from the fine; or mestegue cochineal, we have been speaking of, but cultivated in the same places, and on the same plant, does not require as much care and precaution; it is a more hardy infect, and bears the minries of the air better. The crop of it is confequently less variable in the produce, and may be gathered all the year. This infect differs from the other, inalmuch as it is more voracious, less abounding in colour, and enveloped in a kind of cotton, which it extends two lines all round it. This species multiplies more readily, spreads further and faster without any affiltance; so that a nopalry is soon covered with them. As it's produce is more certain, as it's price is equivalent to two-thirds of that of the finer fort, and as it propagates upon all the species of nopal, it may be cultivated with fuccels, but feparacely: because, if it were placed near the other, it would flarve it, and the other might also be smothered

BOOK under the down This species is also found in VI Peru, upon a very prickly nopal, which is extremely common there

As soon as the cochineals are gathered, they are plunged in hot water to kill them. There are different ways of drying them. The best is, to expose them to the sun for several days, by which means they acquire a red brown colour, which the Spaniards call rengrida. The second method is to put them in an oven, where they affirme a greyish colour streaked with veins of purple, which hath given them the name of jaspeada But the most imperfect, which is what the Indians most generally practise, consists in putting them on plates along with their cakes of maize, in which process they are frequently burnt, and are called negra

Though the cochineal be classed in the animal kingdom, the species of all others the most likely to corrupt, yet it never spoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it hath been preserved in all it's virtue for

THIS valuable production would probably fucceed in different parts of Mexico, but hitherto fearce any beside the province of Oaxaca hath ferroully attended to it Tle crops have been more plentiful upon a barren foil, which is beneficial to the nopal, than upon a foil naturally fertile, they have experienced less accidents in an agreeably mild exposure, than in places where the heat and cold were more fenfibly felt. The Mexicans were acquainted with the cochineal before the destruction of their empire They made use of it to paint their houses, and to dye their cotton We read in Herrera, that, as early as the year 1523, the ministry sent orders to Cortez to encourage the cultivation of it. The conquerors querors rejected this kind of labour, as they de-B O O K fpifed every other, and it was configned entirely to the Indians. They are the only persons who still carry it on, though too frequently with funds advanced by the Spaniards, upon terms more or less fusions. The produce of their industry is all conveyed to the capital of the province, which is likewise named Oaxaca.

This town, to which there are beautiful roads leading up, and where a perpetual spring prevails, rifes in the midst of a spacious plain, covered with agreeable hamlers and well cultivated. The ftreets are wide, run in a straight line, and confift of houses that are rather low, but constructed in a pleafing manner. The squares, the aqueduct, and the public edifices, are executed in a good tafte. There are some manufactures of filk and cotton; and the merchandise of Asia and of Europe is in general use We have an opportunity of feeing feveral travellers, whom particular circumstances had led to Oaxaca have uniformly affured us, that of all the fettlements formed by the Spaniards in the New World, this was the one in which the spirit of fociety had made the greatest progress These feveral advantages appear to be the refult of the cochineal trade

Exclusive of what is confumed by America and the Philippines, Europe receives annually four thouland quintals of fine cochineal, two hundred quintals of granilla, a hundred quintals of cochineal duft, and three hundred quintals of the wild cochineal, which, when brought into it's ports, are fold for 8,610,140 hives\*

This rich article hath been hitherto cultivated only for the profit of Spain. M Thierry, z

. 50\$

BOOK Frenchi botanist, in defiance of more dangers than can be imagined, hath taken it away from Oaxaca itself, and transplanted it to San Domingo, where he cultivates it with a degree of perfeverance, worthy of the courage which animated him in obtaining it. His first attempts have succeeded beyond his expectations, and there is every reason to hope that the sequel will answer to this fortunate beginning. May this species of cultivation, as well as others, extend itself still further, and engage the attention of other nations! Are we not all brethren, all chil--dren of one common father, and are we not all called to fulfill the fame deftiny? Is it necessary that I should thwart the prosperity of my fellow creature, because nature hath placed a river, or a mountain between him and me? Doth this barrier authorise me to hate and to persecute him? ·How many calamities hath this exclusive predilection for particular focieties brought upon the globe, and how many more will it still occasion in future, unless found philosophy should at length enlighten the minds of men, too long beguiled by factitious fentiments? My voice is certainly too feeble to diffipate the delufion. :But fome writers will undoubtedly arife, whose reasoning and elo-quence will, sooner or later, persuade future gemerations, that mankind is of greater concern to 'us than one's country; or rather, that the felicity of the one is intimately connected with the happiness of the other.

' To the great exportations we have been mentioning, we must add the following articles that are fent from Mexico: ten thousand three hundred and fifty quintals of logwood, which produce .112,428 livres \*; three hundred and ten

quintals of a species of Brasil wood, which pro-BOOK duce 4,266 livres (a); forty-seven quintals of carmine, which produce 81,000 livres (b); fix quintals of tortoise shell, which produce 24,300 livres (c); forty-seven quintals of arnotto, which produce 21,600 livres (d); thirty quintals of sarspatilla, which produce 4,147 livres (e); forty-seven quintals of balam, which produce 4,5020 livres (f); five quintals of dragon's blood, which produce 270 livres (g); and one hundred hides with the hair on, which produce 1,620 livres (b).

Bur, as if nature had not yet done enough for Spain, in granting to her, almost gratuitously, all the treasures of the earth, which other nations cannot obtain without the hardest labour, she hath alfo bestowed upon her, especially at Mexico, gold and silver, which are the vehicle or representative

of every produce.

Such is the dominion which these shining and Of the fatal metals have over us, that they have counter-of the balanced the infamy and execration which the mines. plunderers of America justly deserved. The names of Mexico, Peru, and Potosi, no longer make us shudder; and yet we are men! Even at this day, when the spirit of justice and the sentiments of humanity are inculcated in all our writings, and are become the invariable rule-of our judgments; a navigator, who should-come into our ports with a vessel laden with riches avowedly obtained by methods equally barbarous, would land amidst the general acclamations of the multitude. Where is then that wildom, which is so much the boast of the present age? What is then that gold, which removes from us

<sup>(</sup>a) 1771, 152, (c) 1,0121, 103, (e) 1721, 153, 104, (f) 111, 53,

<sup>(</sup>b) 3,375l. (d) 900l. (f) 1,913l. 6s. \$d. (h) 67l. 10s.

BOOK the idea of vice, and prevents us from feeling that VI.

fenfe of horror which the finedding of blood naturally impreffes us with? There are undoubtedly forme advantages annexed to a medium of exchange between nations, to an external reprefentation of all forts of value, to a common estimate of all labours. But would not greater advantages have been obtained, if nations had continued in a state of tranquility, detached from each other, ignorant, and hospitable, than thus to have become corrupted with the most services of all passions?

The origin of metals hath not always been well understood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed, with greater reason, that they are formed successively. In fact, it is impossible to doubt, that nature is continually in action, and that she exerts herself with as much power in the bowels of the earth,

as in the regions of the fky.

EVERY metal, according to the chymifts, hath for it's principle an earth which conflitutes and is peculiar to it. It prefents itself to us, sometimes in the form that characterizes it, and sometimes under various appearances; when it requires a degree of habit and skill to recognize it. In the first case it is called native, in the second mineralized ore.

METALS, whether native or mineralized, are fometimes scattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined. But this is not the place of their origin. They have been conveyed thither by great volcanos, sloods, and earthquakes, which are continually subverting our miserable planet. They are commonly found, sometimes in regular veins, and sometimes in detached masses, within the rocks and mountains where they are formed.

According to the conjectures of naturalists, BOOK from these large caverns which are perpetually VI. Theated, there arise continual exhalations. These sulphureous and saline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate, and divide them, and put them in motion within the cavities of the earth. They unite again; and then, becoming too heavy to support themselves in the air, they sall, and are heaped up one upon another. If, in their several motions, they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals; which they do not, if they happen to have been combined with foreign substances.

NATURE, which feems to have intended to conceal these metals, hath 'not been able to secrete 'them from the avidity of man. From' repeated observations, we are led to discover the places where there are mines. They are usually found in mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and foon fade; where trees are small and crooked; where the moisture of dews, rains, and even fnows, is foon dried up; where fulphureous and mineral exhalations arife; where the waters are impregnated with vitriolic falts; and where the fands contain metallic particles, Though each of these marks, separately considered, be ambiguous, it feldom happens, when all of them are united, but that the earth contains some mine.

Bur what are the terms on which we extract this treature or this poifon from those caverns where nature had concealed it? We must pierce rocks to an immense depth, we must dig subterraneous channels, to carry off the waters which flow in and menace us on every side; we must convey into immense galleries the wood of whole forests cut into props; we must support the vaults of these galleries against the enormous weight of

BOOK the earth which perpetually tends to fill them up, and to bury in their ruins those avaricious and prefumptuous men who constructed them; we must dig canals and aqueducts; we must invent hydraulie machines of aftonishing and various powers, and all the feveral kinds of furnaces; we must hazard being suffocated or consumed by a vapour which takes fire from the glimmering flame of the lamps, without which the work could not be carried on; and we must at last perish by a consumption, which reduces human life to one half of it's duration. If we confider how many observations, experiments, and trials, all these works imply, we shall carry the origin of the world far beyond it's known antiquity. To shew us the gold, iron, copper, tin, and filver, used in the earliest ages, is to amuse us with an idle story which can only impose upon children.

WHEN the labour of mineralogy is finished, that of metallurgy begins. It's object is to feparate metals from each other, and to detach them from the extraneous bodies which envelope

them.

In order to separate the gold from the stones which contain it, it is sufficient to break them in pieces and reduce them to powder. The matter thus pulverized is afterwards triturated with quickfilver, which combines itself to this precious metal, but without forming any union, either with the rock, or fand, or even the earth, which were mixed with it. By means of fire, the mercury is afterwards distilled, which, on separating, leaves the gold at the bottom of the veffel. in the state of a powder which is purified in the coppel. Native filver requires no other preparations

But when filver is combined with other fubflances, or with metals of a different nature, great knowledge knowledge and confuminate experience are requi- B O O K fite to purify it. Every circumflance authorizes us to think that this art is unknown in the New-World. It is also generally acknowledged, that the miners of Germany and Sweden would find, in a mine that hall already been worked, more wealth than the Spaniard had been able to extract from it.: They would enrich themselves by mines, which, through want of skill, have been rejected as insufficient to defray the expences of working

BEFORE the arrival of the Castilians, the Mexicans had no gold except what the torrents derached from the mountains; they had ftill less filver, because the chances that might bring it into their hands; were infinitely less frequent. These metals were not employed by them as a medium of exchange, but only as objects of ornament, or of mere curiofity. They were little attached to them. : Accordingly, they lavished the small quantity they had of them upon a foreign people, who made them their idol; and they calt it at the feet of their horses, who, while they were chewing the bit. feemed as if they were feeding upon them. But when hostilities had commenced between the two nations, and in proportion as the animolities increased, these perfidious treasures were partly thrown into the lakes and rivers, in order to deprive an implacable enemy of them. who feemed to have croffed to many leas for no other, purpose than to obtain the possession of them. It was particularly in the capital and it's neighbourhood that this practice, was adopted. After the empire was fubdued, the conquerors went all over it, in order to fatisfy their ruling · passion: The temples, the palaces, the private . houses, and even the meanest hovels, were ranfacked and pillaged. This fource being exhaufted.

BOOK hausted, it became necessary to have recourse to

Those from which the greatest expectations could be formed, were situated in countries which had not yet submitted to the Mexican yoke: Nuno de Gusman was commissioned, in 1530, to reduce them to subjection. The advantages which this commander derived from an illustrious name, did not prevent him from furpassing in barbarity, all the adventurers who had previously deluged the unfortunate plains of the New World with blood. Trampling upon millions of carcases, he succeeded, in less than two years, in establishing a very extensive dominion, from which the audience of Guadalaxara was instituted. This was always the part of New Spain the most abounding in metals. These riches are more especially common in New Galicia, in New Bifcay, and chiefly in the country of Zacatecas. From the midft of these arid mountains is drawn the greatest part of those eighty millions of livres \* which are annually coined in the mints of Mexico. The internal circulation, the East Indies, the national islands, and the contraband trade, absorb near one half of this specie. The mother-country receives 44,196,047 of these livres +, to which we must add, five thousand fix hundred and thirty-four quintals of copper, which are fold in Europe for 454,600 livres 1.

he the earlieft periods after the conquest, all the payments were made with ingots of filter, and with pieces of gold, the weight and value of which had received the sanction of government. The necessity of having a regular kind of coin was soon felt; and towards the year 1542, these original metals were converted into coins of dif-

<sup>- , # 1,113,1331 61. 8</sup>d. + 1,841,501l. 192. 2d. 1 18,900l.

ferent fizes. Some copper coins were even BOOK fricken, but the Indians rejected them. When they were compelled to receive them, they used to throw them, with contempt, into the lakes and rivers. In less than a year's time, the amount of more than a million of this coin disappeared; and it became necessary to give up a medium of exchange, which disgusted the lower class of people.

ALTHOUGH the breeding of cattle, cultivation, and the working of the mines, have not been carried nearly to fuch a degree of perfection as they would infallably have been by an active people, yet the manufactures are still in a worse flate. Those of woollen and cotton are very general; but as they are in the hands of the Indians, Mestees, and Mulattos, and that they serve only for the clothing of the middling class of people, they are inconceivably imperfect. , Some better kinds have been only at Quexetaco, where tolesably fine woollen cloths are manufactured. But it is particularly in the province of Tlascala that the works are carried on with spirit. The position of this province between Vera-Cruz and Mexico, the mildness of the climate, the beauty of the country, and the fertility of the foil, have attracted there most of the workmen, who have passed from the Old to the New World. These manufactures have produced fuccessively - filkstuffs, ribands, gold and filver, and other laces, and hats, which have been confumed by fuch of the Mestees and Spaniards as were not able to pay for the merchandise brought from Europe. Los Angèles, an extensive, rich, and populous town, is the center of this business. All the earthen ware, and most of the glasses and crystals that are fold in the empire, come from it's manufac-

13 ...

The government hath even fire arms made

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BOOK tures VI there

What is prospera EY?

THE indolence of the people inhabiting New What is that the readon Spain, must be one of the principal causes that that Max have retarded the prosperity of this celebrated region, but it is not the only one, and the difficongrate culty of communication must have added greatly to this want of activity. The circulation of trade is continually stopped, by all the obstacles that can have been suggested by an unjust and repacious administration There are at most but two rivers able to bear even fmall canoes, and neither of them possessions possessions possessions possessions but few traces of roads even near the great towns an every other part the provisions or merchandise can only be conveyed upon the back of mules, and every thing that is brittle upon the heads of In most of the provinces, the price which the traveller is to pay for lodging, for horses, for guides, and for provisions, is regulated by the police, and this cuftom, however barbarous it may be thought, is still preferable to what is practited in places where liberty feems to be more refpected

THESE obstacles to public prosperity have been increased by the severe yoke under which oppressive masters held the Indians, upon whom all the hard labour was imposed This evil is become more confiderable from the diminution of the hands employed to ferve the cupidity of the

Europeans

The first steps of the Castilians at Mexico vere marked with blood The carnage extended itself during the memorable fiege of the city, and it was carried to the highest pitch of excess, in the expeditions that were undertaken to subdue defperate people who had endeavoured to break their chains The introduction of the small-pox, increased

increased the depopulation, which was still aug BOOL mented foon after, by the epidemic diseases of 1545 and 1576, the first of which deprived the empire of eight hundred thousand inhabitants. and the fecond, of two millions, if we chuse to adopt the calculations of the credulous and exaggerating Torquemada It is even demonfirated, that without any accidental cause, the number of the inhabitants hath been infenfibly reduced to a very few According to the regif ters of 1600, there were five hundred thouland tributary Indians in the diocese of Mexico, and in 1741, there remained no more than one hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred and In the diocese of Los Angeles there were two hundred and fifty five thousand, and there remained no more than eighty eight thoufand two hundred and forty In the diocese of Oaxaca there were a hundred and fifty thousand, and there remained no more than forty four thousand two hundred and twenty two We do not know the changes that have happened in the dioceses of the fix other churches but it is probable that they have been the same every where

THE cuftom which presailed, and full prevails among the Spaniards, Meffees, Multtos, and Negroes, frequently to take wives from among the Indians, while no one female of these branches hath ever, or searce ever chose husbands from among them, high undoubtedly contributed to the diminution of this race but the effect of this circumstance must have been rather confined, and if we be not deceived, consequences much more extensive have been produced by a system of permanent tyranny

It must be acknowledged, however, that in proportion as the population of the natives di-Vot II L1 minished, BOOK minished, that of the foreigners increased in a Very remarkable degree of progression In 1600, the diocese of Mexico reckoned no more than feven thousand of these families, and in 1741) their number was raifed to one hundred and nineteen thousand five hundred and eleven diocese of Los Angeles reckoned only four thoufand, and these were rused to thirty thousand fix hundred The diocese of Oaxaca computed only a thousand, and these were raised to seven thoufand two hundred and ninety fix The anci ent inhabitants, however, have been but imper fectly replaced by the new ones The cultivation of the lands, and the working of the mines were

> mards, the Mestees, the Mulattos, and even the blacks have most of them disdained to attend to these g eat objects several of them live in a state of idl-ness A still greater number of them devote a few moments to the arts and to commerce. The rest are employed in the service of the rich It is particularly in the capital of the empire, that we are difguilted with this last circumstance The inhabitants of Mexico, who for iome time

> the ordinary occupation of the Indians The Spa-

had reason to doubt, whether the Castilians were a f t of tobbers, cr a conquering people, faw their capi al almost totally destroyed by the cruel wars that were carried on in it Cortez foon rebuilt it in a stile very superior to that in which it appeared before this catastrophe

THE city rifes in the midft of a great lake, the banks of which exhibit fortunate fituations, which would be delightful if nature vere a little affifted by the efforts of art Upon the lake uself, the eye beholds with fatisfaction a number of floating islands These are rafts so med by weeds interwoven with each other, and fufficiently folid to

bear thick layers of earth, and even dwellings BOOK lightly constructed. Some Indians live there, and cultivate a plenty of vegetables. These singular gardens do not always occupy the fame space. Their fituation is changed, when this alteration fuits the possessors.

: VERY wide banks raifed upon piles lead up to the city. Five or fix canals convey all the productions of the country to it's center, and in it's most beautiful parts. A wholesome water, which is derived from a mountain at the distance only of five or fix hundred toiles, is distributed in all the houses, and even to all the different stories, by means of aqueducts very well contrived.

THE air of this city is very temperate; woollen clothing may be worn there all the year. The . least precautions are sufficient to prevent any inconveniences from the heat. Charles V. alked a Spaniard, on his arrival from Mexico, how long the interval was there between fummer, and winter? Just as long, replied he, with great truth and wit, as it takes to pass out of sunshine into the

Wade. THE advantage which this city hath of being the capital of New Spain, hath fuccessively multiphed it's inhabitants. In 1777, the number of births amounted to five thousand nine hundred and fifteen, and that of burials to five thousand and eleven; from whence we may conclude, that it's population is not much inferior to two hundred thousand souls. All the citizens are not opulent, but several of them are, perhaps, more so than in any other part of the globe. These riches. very rapidly accumulated, foon had a remarkable influence. Most of the materials, which in other parts were of iron or copper, were here made of filver or gold. These brilliant metals were used as ornaments for the fervants, for the horfes, for the

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BOOK the most common furniture, and employed for the meanest purposes. The manners, which always follow the course of luxury, were raised to the same romantic train of magnificence. The women, within their houses, were attended by thousands of flaves, and did not appear in public without a retinue, which amongst us is reserved for the majesty of the throne. To these extravagances the men added still greater profusions, which they lavished upon the Negro women, whom they raifed publicly to the rank of their mistresses. The luxury so inordinate in the common actions of life, surpassed all bounds upon oc-casion of the least festival. The general and pre-

> crimes necessary to support these extravagances were previously expiated; for superstition declared every man holy and just, who bestowed large sums upon the churches. EVERY circumstance bore the mark of an oftentation hitherto unknown in the two hemispheres; the inhabitants were no longer fatisfied with a

> vailing pride was then in commotion, and every individual lavished millions to justify his own. The

> decent dwelling, fituated in wide and even streets. Most of them required hotels, the extent of which was superior to either their convenience, or their elegance. Public edifices were multiplied, without recalling to the mind of any man the profperous days of architecture, or even of the best Gothic times. The principal squares had all the fame form, the fame regularity, and the fame kind of fountain, with ornaments executed without tafte. Trees that were ill chosen, and of a dirty appearance, deprived the walks of the ornaments which they might have received from avenues well distributed, and from water-works, 'Among the fifty-five convents, which had been founded by a spirit of credulty worthy of pity,

there were very few of them which did not cre- BOOK ate difgust from the faults of their construction . The numberless temples, in which the treasures of the whole globe were he ped up, were generally devoid of majesty, and were not calculated to inspire those who frequented them, with ideas and fentiments worthy of the Supreme Being, whom they came to adore Among this multiplicity of immense buildings, there are but two that are worthy of fixing the attention of the traveller. One is the palace of the Viceroy, where the tribunals of justice are also holden, where the coin is stricken, and where the quickfilver is depofited The people, who were driven to desprir by famine, burnt it in 1692 It bith been fince rebuilt upon a better plan It is a square with four towers, and is seven hundred and fifty feet in length, and fix hundred and ninety in breadth The cathedral, begun in 1573, and finished in 1667, would equally do honour to the best artists It is four hundred feet in length, by one hundred and ninety-five in breadth, and hath coft 9,460,800 livres \*. Unfortunately, these edifices are not fo folid as it might be wished they were

We have feen, that Mexico was fituated upon a confiderable lake, divided by a narrow flip of land into two parts, the one filled with fweet vater, the other with falt. These waters appear equally to flow from a high mountain at a small distance from the city, but with this difference, that the falt waters must necessarily traverse some mines which communicate this quality to them. But beside these regular springs, there exist, a little further off, four small lakes, which in tempessuous seasons,

BOOK sometimes discharge themselves into the great one VI. with destructive violence.

The ancient inhabitants of this city had always been exposed to inundations, which made then purchase, at a very dear rate, the advantages they acquired from the situation they had chosen to fix the center of their power upon. To the calamities inseparable from these too frequent overslowings, the conquerors experienced the additional disappointment of seeing their heavier buildings, though raised upon piles, link, in a very short time, from four to six inches, it a soil that had not firmness enough to support them.

ATTEMPT'S were made, at different times, to turn afide these dreadful torrents; but the directors of these great works had not sufficient skill to employ the most effectual means; nor were the subaltern agents sufficiently zealous to supply, by their efforts, the want of capacity in their chiefs.

The engineer Martine's conceived, in 1607, the idea of a great canal, which appeared in general preferable to all the methods pursued before that period. In order to defray the expences of this project, the government required the hundredth part of the value of the houses, lands, and merchandise: a species of impost unknown in the New World. Four hundred and seventy-one shousand one hundred and fifty-four Indians were employed, during six years, at this work; and the undertaking was afterwards judged to be impracticable.

The court, wearied with the diversity of opinions, and the troubles they occasioned, decreed, in 1631, that Mexico should be abandoned, and that a new capital should be erected on some other spot. The spirit of avarice, which objected to the least sacrifice, that of libidinousness, which was afraid

of having it's pleafures interrupted, and that of BOO'K indolence, which shuddered at the idea of trouble; VI. all the passions, in a word, united themselves to oblige the ministry to change their resolutions:

and they prevailed, UPW ARDS of a century passed away, before the government attended to the duty of preventing the misfortunes of which the people were incelfantly complaining. At length their attention was roused. In 1763, it was resolved to cut a mountain, in which some excavations only, had 'till that time, been made; and the waters have fince had as free a paffage as the public fecurity required. The commercial body have undertaken this great work for the fum of 4,320,000 livres\*. They even agreed to pay whatever additional experices this labour might be attended with, and that if there were any favings, they should be applied to the profit of the treasurry. This generofity hath not been a virtue of mere oftentation. The merchants have expended 1,890,000 livres + in rendering this fervice to their country.

OTHER works are meditated. The project of drying up the great lake that furrounds Mexico feems to be at a fland; and persons of the art require 8,100,000 livres I to complete the new plan in a proper manner. This is a large fum. But what is money, when the business is to make the air wholesome, to preserve the lives of men, or to increase provisions? What infinite good would the rulers of the world do, and how much will they be honoured, when the gold which they lavish in inordinate luxury, upon greedy favourites, or in idle caprices, shall be consecrated to the improvement of their empire! An airy holpi-

<sup>\* 180,000</sup>l, 4 78,750l

520 BOOKtal, constructed with skill and carefully manag-

ed; the abolition of beggary, or the employing of indigent persons; the paying off of the national debt; a moderate tax, distributed with equity; the reformation of the laws, by the composition of a clear and simple code; such institutions would raife their glory to a higher pitch than magnificent palaces; than the conquest of a province, after a number of victories; than all the bronzes, all the marbles, and all the inferiptions

of flattery. Is the court of Madrid, who have the greatest reason to entertain such hopes, should do for Mexico what they have proposed, they will soon fee this famous city become the feat of government, the place of the mint, the relidence of the most extensive proprietors, the center of all important affairs; they will behold it foaring to a still greater height, communicating to the provinces under it's dependence the impulse it shall have received, giving energy to industry, increasing internal circulation, and, by a necessary consequence, extending and multiplying it's foreign connections

Connect:- . ons of Mexico with the Philippines.

THAT which Mexico hath formed with the Philippines, is the most notorious of all those it maintains through the channel of the South-Sea

WHEN the court of Madrid, whose ambition increased with their prosperity, had conceived the plan of forming a great establishment in Asia. their attention was ferroufly engaged in confidering of expedients to infure it's fuccefs. project was necessarily attended with great difficulties The riches of America fo powerfully attracted the Spaniarde, who confented to a voluntary exile, that it did not appear possible to engage even the most wretched of them to settle

at the Philippines, unless it were agreed to give BOOK them a share in the treasures of those islands. VI. This facifice was resolved upon. The rising co-lony was authorised to send every year into America India goods, in exchange for metals.

This unrestrained freedom was attended with such important confequences, that the jealously of the mother-country was excited. Tranquillity was in some measure restored, by restraining a commerce, which was thought to be, and which really was, immense. The trade that was to be allowed in future, was duided into twelve, thousand equal shares. Every head of a family was to have one, and persons in office a number proportioned to their rank. Religious communities; were included in this arrangement; according to the extent of their credit, and the opinion that was entertained of their utility.

The veffels which fet out at first from the island of Cebu, and afterwards from the island of Luconia, originally took the route of Peru. The length of this voyage was prodigious. Tradewinds were discovered, which opened a much shorter passage to Mexico; and this branch of commerce was transacted on it's coast, where it was settled.

A VESSEL of about two thousand ton burden is dispatched every year from the port of Manilla. According to the laws at present in force, and which have frequently been varied, this ship ought not to carry more than four thousand bales of merchandise, and yet it is laden with at 'least double that quantity.' The expences of 'building, of fitting out, and, of the voyage, which are always 'infinitely more considerable than they ought to be, are supported by the

government, which receives no other indemni-

fication

BOO Efication than 75,000 piastres or 405,000 livrés \* VI per vessel

The departure of it is fixed for the month of July After having cleared a multitude of illands and rocks, which are always troublefome, and fometimes dangerous, the galleon fleers northward as far as the thirtieth degree of latitude. There the trade winds begin to blow, which convey it to the place of it's defination. It is generally thought, that if it proceeded further, it would meet with stronger, and more regular winds, which would haften it's course; but the commanders are forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to go out of the track that hath been marked out to them

This is undoubtedly the réason that hath prevented the Spaniards during the course of two centuries, from making the least discovery upon an ocean, which would have offered so many objects of instruction and advantage to more enlightened, and less circumspect nations. The voyage lasts six months, because the vessels is over-stocked with men and merchandise, and that all those who are on board are a fer of timid navigators, who never make but little way during the night time, and often, though without necessity, make none at all

The port of Acapulco where the veffel arrives, bath two niets, feparated from each other by a fmall filand it the entrance into them in the day is by means of a fea breeze, and the failing out in the night time is effected by a land breezel. It is defended only by a bad fort, fifty foldiers, forty-two pieces of cannon, and thirty two of the corps of artillery, and commodions. The balon which forms this

beautiful harbour is furrounded by lofiy mountains, which are fo dry, that they are even deftitute of water. Four hundred families of Chinefe, Mulattoes, and Negroes, which compose three companies of militua, are the only persons accussomed to breathe the air of this place, which is burning, heavy, and unwholesome. The number of inhabitants in this feeble and miserable colony is considerably increased upon the arrival of the galleons, by the merchants from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange their silver and their cochineal, for the spices, mussins, china, printed linens, silks, persumes, and gold works of Asia.

At this market, the fraud impudently begun in the Old World, is as impudently completed in the New. 'The flatutes have limited the fale to 2,700,000 livres†, and it exceeds 10,800,000 livres†. All the money produced by these exchanges should give ten per cent to the government: but they are deprived of three-sourths of the revenue which they ought to collect from their customs, by false entries.

AFTER staying here about three months, the galleon refumes it's course to the Philippine islands, with a sew companies of infantry, destined to recruit the garrison of Manilla. This versel hath been intercepted in it's passage three times by the English. It was taken in 1587 by Cavendish, in 1700 by Rogers, and in 1742 by Anson. The least part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony, the rest is distributed among the nations which had contributed to form it's cargo.

THE long passage which the galleons had to make, hath made it a desirable thing to have a

BOOK port where they might refit and take in refreshments Such a port was found on the road from Acapulco to the Ph lippines, in an Archipelago known by the name of the Marianne Islands

Descripti Marianne ıslanda have been observed

THESE islands form a chain which extends on of the from the 13th to the 22d degree Several of them are nothing more than rocks but there are Singulari- nine of them which are of some extent There it is that nature, in all her richness and beauty, displays a perpetual verdure, abounds in flowers ın tl.em of exquifite odour, in waters as clear as crystal, falling into cascades, in trees loaded with flowers' and fruits at the fame time, and in picturefque

fituations which art will never imitate In this Archipelago, which is fituated under the torrid zone, the air is pure, the fky ferene, and

the climate temperate

Ir was formerly inhabited by numbers of people, the origin of whom nothing remains to indicate They were undoubtedly thrown on these coalts by fome ftorm, but this event must have I appened so long ago, that they had forgotten their origin, and thought themselves the only inhabitants of the globe

Some customs, most of them similar to those of the other favages of the South Sea, ferve them instead of a form of worship, of a code of laws, and of a fystem of government They paffed their days in perpetual indolence, and it was to the bananas, to the cocoa nuts, and efpecially to the rima, that they owed this misfortune

or advantage

THE Rims, mentioned by fome travellers under the name of the bread tree, is not yet well known to the botanists It is a tree, the stem of which, that is high and ftraight, is divided to wards it's top into feveral branches It's leaves are alternate, large, firm, thick, and deeply finuated

finuated towards their lateral edges. The young-BOOK est of them, before they unfold themselves, are VI. inclosed in a membrane which dries up, and when it falls, leaves a circular impression round the stem. They yield, as well as the other parts of the tree, a very viscous, milky fluid. From the axilla of the superior leaves, a spongy substance is produced, fix inches in length, and covered all over with male flowers, very close to each other. Lower down, other substances are found, loaded with female flowers, the piffil of which becomes an clongated berry filled with a kernel. These berries, which are supported upon one common axis, are so close to each other, that they are confounded, and form, by their affemblage, a very large fruit, ten inches in length, and befet with thick, short, and blunted points. It appears that there are two species, or varieties of the Rima. The fruit of one of them is pulpy on the infide, and full of kernels, which are good for eating, and which have the figure and taste of the chesnut. The fruit of the other species is smaller: it hath no kernels, because these come to nothing when it is perfectly ripe. The pulp of it is foft, fweetish, and unwholesome. But when it is gathered a little before it is ripe, it hath the tafte of the artichoke. and is eaten as bread, from whence it hath been called the Bread fruit. Those who wish to keep it one or more years; cut it into flices, and dry it in the oven, or in the fun.

THERE are three things which appear worthy of remark in the hittory of the Marianne, islands.

The use of fire was totally unknown there. None of those terrible volcanoes, the destructive traces of which are indelibly marked on the face of the globe; none of those celestial phanomena.

which

B O O K which frequently light up devouring and unexpected flames in all climates, none of those fortunate occurrences, which by friction or collision, extract brillant sparks from such a number of bodies nothing, in a word, had given the peaceable inlabitants of the Marianne islands the least idea of an element so familiar to other nations. It was necessary that the resentment of the first Spaniards that arrived upon these savage coasts, should burn some hundreds of their huts, in order to make them acquainted with it

This use of fire was little calculated to give them a favourable idea of it, or to make them wish to see it appear again Accordingly, they took it for an animal which fixed itself to the wood, and fed upon it Those whom their ignorance of fo new an object had induced to come near it, having burnt themselves, their cries inspired the rest with terror, so that they did not dare to look at it but at a great diffance. They dreaded the bite of this wild beaft, whom they thought capable of wounding them by the mere violence of it's respiration They recovered, however, by degrees, from the consternation with which they had been feized their miftake was gradually iemoved, and they at length accustomed themselves to the use of this valuable adv intage, of which all other known people had been in possession, from time immemorial

ANOTHER circumstance worthy of attention is, the superiority which the verker sex had assumed over the stronger in the Minianne islands. Such was their ascendant, that the women there enjoyed unlimited power in their samilies, their nothing could be parted with without their confent, and that they had the free disposal of every thing, that in no instance, even that of insidelity publickly acknowledged, it was permitted to be wanting

wanting in the attentions that were due to them; BOOK that how little foever they themfelves might judge their husbands to be deficient in mildness, complaisance, and submillion, they were at liberty to make: a new choice; and that if they thought themselves betrayed, they might pillage the hut, and cut down the trees of the traitor, or make their relations, or companions, commit the same havock.

Bur how could flich frange cuftoms have been established, and have taken a root? If we 'credit ancient or modern accounts, the men of this Archipelago, were black, ugly, and deformed; they had most of them a difgusting cutaneous difease; notwithstanding the daily use of the bath. The women, on the contrary, had a tolerably clear complexion, regular features. an eafy air, some graces, and a taffe for finging and dancing. It is not therefore furprifing that with all these means of pleasing, they should have acquired an absolute empire, which cannot be fhaken. It is truly extraordinary, that there ·fliould have been any countries, and especially favage 'regions, where a difference fo marked -hath been found between the two fexes. The--unanimity of historians upon this point, will probably never filence the doubts that naturally arife in the mind from fo improbable an ac-. count. .

The united testimonies of any number of writers, cannot prevail against a well-known, general, and constant law of nature. We know, that in every part, except at the Marianne islands, the woman has been found, as she ought to be, subject to the man. In order to induce me to believe this exception, it must be supported by another: which is, that in this region, the women were superior to the men, not only in understanding,

but

BOOK but even in bodily strength. If I be not affured VI. of one of these facts, I shall deny the other; unless, however, some superstitious tenet, have rendered their persons facred. For there is no-thing which superstitution doth not alter, no cust-tom, however monstrous, which it doth not effablish, no crimes to which it doth not lead, no facrifices which it doth not obtain. If Superflition, at the Marianne islands, declares to man. It is the will of God that thou shouldst cringe before woman; he will not fail to cringe to her. Beauty, talents, and wit, in all countries of the world, whether favage or civilized, will induce a man to throw himself at the feet of a woman : but these advantages peculiar to some women, cannot establish in any part a general system, of the tyranny of the weaker sex over the stronger. The man commands the woman, even in those countries where the woman commands the nation. The phænomenon, 'at the Marianne islands, would be in the fystem of morality, the same as the equilibrium of two unequal weights, fufpended to levers of equal length, would be in the fystem of philosophy. No kind of authority ought to induce us to believe an abfurdity. But it may be urged, that the women may have deferved this authority, on account of fome important fervices, the memory of which may have been loft. Supposing this to be the case, the men would foon have forgotten the gratitude they might have thewn in the first instance. ' .

The third remarkable thing in the Marianne islands, was a prof., or cance, the singular form of which, hath always attracted the attention of the

most enlightened navigators

THESE people refided in islands separated from each other by considerable distances. Although they had neither the means nor the desire of making

making exchanges, yet they wished to commu- BOOK nicate with each other. They succeeded in this delign with the affishance of a vessel, entirely safe, though very small: a vessel fit fit for every naval evolution, notwithst and to the simplicity of it's construction, and so easily managed that three

evolution, notwithstanding the simplicity of it's construction; and so easily managed, that three men were sufficient for all the manceuvers, a vessel, which received the winds sideways, a circumstance absolutely necessary in these latitudes; which had the unparelleled advantage of going and returning, without ever tacking about, and merely by shifting the sail; a vessel, in a word, so expeditious, that it ran twelve or fisteen knots in less than an hour, and that it sometimes went faster than the wird. All connoisseurs acknowledge, that this pross, which is called fisting, on account of it's lightness, is the most perfect kind of boat that hath ever been contrived; and the invention of it cannot be disputed with the inhabitants of the Marianne islunds, since the mo-

BOOK of nature, stole from on board their ships some vi trifles which tempted their curiofity. The Spaniards neglected, for a long time, to fix themselves in this Archipelago, where there were none of those rich mines that excited their cupidity. It was only in 1668, that the ships which stopped there, from time to time, in their passage from Mexico to the East Indies, landed a few missionaries on these islands. Ten years after this, the court of Madrid thought that they did not gain at fufficient number of subjects by the means of perfualion; and they supported the fermons of their missionaries with a military force,

SAVAGES, hving by themselves, and guided by a wild inflinct; to whom the bow and the arrow were even unknown, and whose only weapon of defence was a large flick: fuch favages could not refift the European arms and troops Nevertheless, most of them suffered themselves to be put to death rather than they would fubmit. 'A great number of them were the victims of the difgraceful maladies which their inhuman conquerors had introduced among them. Those who had escaped all these disasters, took the desperate resolution of making their wives miscarry, in order that they might not leave behind them a progeny of flaves. The population decreased, throughout the whole Archipelago, to fuch a degree, that it became necessary, five and twenty or thirty years fingle ifland of Guam.

This island is forty leagues in circumference. It's harbour, situated in the western part, and defended by a battery of eight guns, is formed on one fide by a flip of land which advances two leagues into the fea, and on the other by a shoal of the same extent, which surrounds it almost circularly. Four fhips may anchor here, sheltered

from all winds except the western, which never BOOK blows hard in these latitudes.

At the distance of four leagues from this harbour, upon the borders of the sea, and in a fortunate position, the agreeable town of Agana is situated. In this chief place of the colony, and in twenty-one small hamlets scattered around the island, fifteen hundred inhabitants are distributed, the unfortunate remains of a population formerly numerous.

The interior part of Guam ferves as an afylum and a pafturage for the goats, hogs, oxen, and poultry, which the Spaniards brought there at the time of the conqueft, and which have fince become wild. These animals, which must either be shot or caught in a trap, were the principal food of the Indians and of their oppressors, when the face of things was suddenly changed.

· An active, humane, and enlightened man hath at length understood, that population would not be restored, but that it would even still continue decreasing, unless he could succeed in introducing agriculture into his island. This elevated idea hath induced him to become himfelf a cultivator. Stimulated by his example, the natives of the country have cleared those lands, the property of which he had promifed them. Thefe fields have been covered with rice, cocoa, maize, fugar, indigo, cotton, fruits, and vegetables; the use of which, they had been suffered to remain ignorant of during one or two centuries; their Success hath more and their decility. These children of rude nature, in whom tyranny and superflition had completed the degradation of the human species, have followed in the workshops fome arts of primary necessity; and have frequented, without any evident figns of reluctance, the schools that have been opened for their instruction. Mm 2

BOOK instruction. Their enjoyments have increased with their occupations; and they have at length experienced happiness in one of the finest countries in the world: fo true it is that every thing may be accomplified by mildness and benevo-lence, fince these virtues are capable of ex-tinguishing resentment even in the mind of a favage.

This unexpected revolution bath been brought about by M. Tobias, who, in 1772, full governed the Marianne islands. May this virtuous and respectable Spaniard one day obtain what would complete his happiness, the consolation of feeing his favourite children forego their passion for the cocoa-tree wine, and their turn for labour

increase !

Ir the Spaniards, from the beginning, had been inspired with the reasonable views of the prudent Tobias, 'the' Marianne islands would have been civilized and cultivated. 'This double advantage would have procured to this Archipelago, . a fecurity which it cannot expect from a garnfon of an hundred and fifty men, concentrated in Guam.

THE conquerors, quiet in their possessions, would then have devoted themselves to their pasfion for new discoveries, which were at that time the prevailing turn of the nation. Affifted by the genius of their new subjects for navigation, their activity would have conveyed the useful arts, and the spirit of fociety, into the numerous islands that cover the Pacific Ocean, and still beyond them. The Universe would have been enlarged, as it were, by fuch glorious labours. All commercial nations would undoubtedly have derived, in process of time, some advantage from connections formed with these regions; which were before unknown: since it is impos-

fible

fible that one nation should enrich itself, and that B O O K others should not partake of it's prosperity; but the court of Madrid would have enjoyed fooner, and more constantly, the productions of these new establishments. If we do not mistake, this arrangement of matters would have been more advantageous to Spain, than that which confines the Marianne illands to the furnishing of refreshments for the galleons, returning from Mexico to the Philippines, as California is destined to supply them to those which go from the Philippines to Mexico. ....

CALIFORNIA is properly a long neck of land, Ancient which proceeds from the northern coafts of Ame-and morica, and runs along between east and south as far of Califoras the torrid zone; it is washed on each side by the nia. Pacific Ocean. The part that is known of this peninfula is three hundred leagues long, and ten, \*twenty, thirty, or forty broad.

Ir is impossible that, throughout such an exstent of country, the nature of the foil and the temperature of the air should be every where the · fame. It may be faid, however, that, in general, the climate here is dry and excessively hot; the ground bare, stony, mountainous, fandy, and confequently barren, and unfit for agriculture and , for the breeding of cattle. Amidst the small number of trees that are found here, the most useful; is the pitahaya, the produce of which constitutes the principal food of the Californians. This tree is a species of the Cerens Perumanns, which, like the rest of the same class, hath no leaves. It's stems, - which are straight and fluted; have their sides full of prickles, and furnish an immediate support to fome whitish flowers, similar to those of the nopal on which the cochineal lives, but much longer. The fruits which succeed these flowers have inequalities upon their furface, which are

BOOK produced by the remaining balis of the scales of the calix. They are of the fize of a hen's egg, red on the outfide, and filled on the infide with a white pulp fit for eating, and fweeter and more delicate than the ordinary fig. In the midft of this pulp are found fome fmall, black, and thining feeds.

THE sea, which is richer than the land, swarms with most excellent fish of every kind. But the circumstance which renders the gulph of California of more importance is the pearls, which, in the fishing-season, draw there, from the several provinces of Mexico, a fet of greedy men, who have been subjected to the tax of giving the fifth part of their fishery to government.

THE Californians are well-made, and very strong. They are extremely pulillanimous, inconstant, indolent, stupid, and even insensible. They are children, in whom reason is not yet unfolded. They are more swarthy than the Mexicans. This difference of colour proves that the civilized state of society subverts or totally , changes the order and laws of nature, fince we find under the temperate zone a savage people, that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.

Before the Europeans had penetrated into California, the natives had no form of religion; and that of their government was fuch as might be expected from their ignorance. Each nation was an affemblage of feveral cottages, more or less numerous, that were all mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were strangers even to filial obedience, although this fentiment be, if not more lively, at least more pure, in the state of nature than in that of fociety.

In

In reality, the helps which a regular fyftern of B O O K police affures to all individuals among civilized on itions, the young favages expect only from their father. It is he who provides for their fubliftence when they are children, and who watches for their father. How is it pollible that they should not have recourfe to his benevolence? How should

they not avoid, with care, what might deprive them of his support?

RESPECT, which is not exacted, can scarce be diminished in children, who constantly return, impelled by habit still more than by want, to the cottage in which they were born, and from which they never wander to any diffance The separations which education, industry, and trade, so frequently occasion amongst us, and which cannot but loofen the ties of kindred, are unknown among the favages They remain with the perfon to whom they owe their existence, as long as he lives It is not possible, therefore, that they should deviate from obedience They receive no imperious orders There is no being more free than the little favage He is born in a ftate of liberty He goes and comes, walks out and returns, and even fleeps from home, without ever being asked what he hath been doing, or what hath been become of him The idea of exerting family authority, in order to bring him back, if he should chuse to disappear, would never be fuggefted Nothing is fo common in cities as bad fathers, but there are none to be found amidst the forests. The more societies increase in opulence and luxury, the less are the claims o confanguinity attended to We may even venture to fay, that the feverity, variety, and lone continuance of our fystem of education, that all these several fitigues contribute to alienate the affection of our children for us. Nothing but

experience

BOOK experience can reconcile them to us We are obliged to wait a long time before our cares are returned with gratitude, and our reprimands are The favage hath never heard any of thef- from the mouth of his parents He was never chaftifed by them When he knew how to firike the animal or whom he was to feed, he had scarce any thing more to learn His passions being natural, he can fatisfy them without dreading the feverity of his parents, while there are numberless motives which oblige our parents to counteract our propenlities Can it be supposed that there is not one child among us, who, im-pelled by the defire of enjo,ing speedily a large fortune, does not think that his father lives too long? We wish we could persuade ourselves that there were not The heart of the favage, to whom his father hath nothing to leave, is a ffranger to this kind of parricide

In our families, children are apt to think that their aged parents talk at random, but it is not the fame in the but of the favage There is very little talking in it, and a high opinion is entertained of the wisdom of parents Their instructions supply the deficiency of observation respecting the craft of animals, the woods which contain game, the coasts abounding in fish, and the feafons and times proper for hunting and fishing If the old man should relate any particularities of his wars or of his travels, if le should recall the memory of the battles he hath been engaged in, or of the snares he hath escaped. if he should elevate his mind to explain to his children some of the most simple phænomena of nature, if, on a flar light night, standing at the entrance of his hut, he should trace out to them, with his finger, the course of the constellations that glitter over their heads, according to the

limited

limited knowledge he hath of them: all thefe BOOK circumstances will excite their admiration of him. Should a florm come on, should any revolution happen upon the earth, in the air, or in the waters, or should any agreeable or distressing event take place, all the children exclaim, our father foretold it to us; and their fubmillion to his counfels, as well as their veneration for his person, is increased. When he is drawing near to his last moments, anxiety and grief are painted in their countenances, their tears flow at his death, and a long-continued filence prevails around his bed. He is laid in the earth, and his burial place is facred. Annual honours are paid to his ashes; and, in important or doubtful circumstances, they are femetimes confulted. Children, alas! among ourselves are devoted to so many dislipations, that their fathers are foon forgotten by them. It is not, however, that I prefer a favage to a civilized state. This is a protestation I have made more alian once, it But the more I reflect upon this point, the more it feems to me, that from the most rude to the most civilized state of nature, bevery thing is nearly compensated, virtues and vices, natural good and evil. In the forest, as well as in fociety, the happiness of one individual may be less or greater than that of another: but I imagine that nature hath fet certain bounds to the felicity of every confiderable portion of the human species, beyond which we have nearly as much to lofe as to gain.

Mexico had no sooner been pacified, than Cortez conceived the project of adding California to his conquests. He undertook this expedition himfelf, in 1526; but it was not a successful one. Those which were afterwards undertaken in rapid succession to each other, during the course of two centuries, were not more fortunate; whether the BOOK expences of them were supported by individuals VI. or by the government: this continuance of adverse fortune may be accounted for.

The custom of taking views, tracing plans, or charts, of the places that were visited, was not then very common. If some adventurer, more intelligent, or more laborious than his companions, wrote an account of his voyage, it was feldom deposited in the public registers; and if it were, it was buried in the dust and forgotten. The printing of it would have remedied this inconvenience; but the fear of making foreigners acquainted with what it was impossible to conceal from them, occasioned this mode of communication to be rejected. Thus it was, that the people, gained no experience. Absurdities were perpetuated; and the last commanders who undertook these expeditions, miscarried by the same faults, that had prevented the success of the former.

THE conquest of California had been entirely given up, when the Jefuits, in 1697, folicited permission to undertake it. As soon as they had obtained the confent of government, they began to execute a plan of legifiation, which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the foil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. Their proceedings were not directed by fanaticism. They arrived among the - favages whom they intended to civilize, with curiofines that might amuse them; with corn for their food, and with apparel calculated to please them. .. The harrest these people bone to the Spanish name could not support itself against these demonstrations of benevolence. They testified their acknowledgments as much as their want of fenfibility and their inconstancy would permit them. . These faults were partly overcome by the religious

grous infititions, who purfued their project with a B O.O.K. degree of warmth and affiduity peculiar to their fociety. They made themselves carpenters, imatons, weavers, and husbandmen; and by these means succeeded in imparting knowledge, and, in some measure, a taste for the most instead arts, to this savage people, who have been all successively formed into one body. In 1745, they composed forty-three villages, that were separated from each other by the barrenness of the soil, and the want of water.

THE inhabitants of these small villages sublist principally on corn and pulse, which they cultivate, and on the fruits and domestic animals of Europe, the breeding of which is an object of continual attention. The Indians have each their field, and the property of what they reap; but fuch is their want of forelight, that they would fquander in a day what they had gathered, if the missionary did not take upon himself to distribute it to them as they fland in need of it. They already manufacture some coarse stuffs. The necesfaries they are in want of are purchased with pearls. which they fish in the gulph, and with wine near-'Iv refembling that of Madeira, which they fell to · New Spain and to the galleons; and the use of which, experience hath shewn, it is necessary to prohibit among them.

A PEW laws, that are very simple, are sufficient to regulate this riling state. In order to enforce the observance of them, the missionary chuses the most intelligent person of the village; who is impowered to whip and imprison; the only punishments of which they have any knowledge.

So many cruel and defructive feenes have hitherto diffressed our minds, that we may be permitted to stop for a moment in considering labours that were inspired by humanity, and diBOOK rected by benevolence all other conquests had VI been made by force of arms We have feen not thing but men deftroying or loading each other with chains The regions we have gone over, have fuccessively presented to us so many scenes of perfidy, of ferociousness of treachery, of avarice, and of all the crimes to which man is ftimulated by the combination and violence of the most mordinate passions. The traces of our pen have been constantly marked with blood. The region we are now entered upon, is the only one which hath been subdued by reason I et us repose ourflves, and take breath Let the picture of innocence and peace diflipate the gloomy ideas with which we have hitherto been affuled, and relieve us for a moment from those painful sensuions with which our heart bath to confrantly been onprefled, agonized, and torn Alas! the new fenfations I experience will last too short a time to excite envy Those great catastrophes which subvert the globe, and the description of which, is pleafing to all readers, from the violence of the shocks they receive from them, and from the tears, partly delicious, and partly bitter, which they draw from their eyes, will foon fully the remainder of these deployable annals Readers, are tye wicked, or are ye good? If ye were good, ye would not, it should seem, listen to the recital of theie calamities, if ye were wicked, ye would hear them without shedding a tear Yet, I perceive your eyes are overflowing Ye pant after happiness, and yet missortune alone can awaken your atof others, afford you comfort in your own, and your felf estimation is increased, by the compassion you bestow upon them

Iv all California there are only two garrifons, each conhifting of thirty men, and a foldier with

every missionary. These troops were chosen by the BOOK legislators, and were under their orders, though they were paid by the government. The court of Madrid saw no inconvenience in leaving these triffing forces in the hands of those who had acquired their confidence; and they have been convinced. that this was the only expedient to preferve their new conquests from a system of oppression totally destructive.

Such was the flate of affairs when, in 1767, the court of Madrid expelled the Jesuits from California, as they did from all the other provinces. These millionaries had formed the project of carrying on their labours upon the two shores of the fea, as far as the chain of mountains which connects California with New Spain. They wished to raise the empire, the subjects of which they were increasing, to a degree of power, that might allow them to behold with tranquillity the vovages of the Russians, and the discovery of the North-West passage, which the English have been in fearch of for so long a time. Far from abandoning these great projects, it is said that the Spanish monistry hath extended them still further. It will not even be long before the inhabitants of the two hemispheres will see them carried into execution, unless some unsurmountable obstacles, proceeding from unexpected events, should counteract their plans.

Bur 'till these vast speculation: sha'l either be annihilated or realized, California ferres for a port of refreshment for Thips that feel from the Philippine islands to Mexico. Cape St. Lucas, situated at the fouthern extremity of the peninfula, is the place where they touch. There they find a good harbour, refresiments, and fignals, which give them information of the appearance of arf renemy in these latitudes, wh mare the most dur-55.25

BOOK gerous for them. It was in 1734 that the galleon arrived there for the first time, where it hath ever fince been ordered, or compelled by necessity, to

flòp. · THE system, adopted by all the states of Europe, of holding colonies in the most absolute dependance on the mother-country, hath always rendered the connexions of Mexico with Alia suspicious to feveral of the Spanish politicians. Far from agreeing with them in opinion, Alberoniwished to igive an unlimited extension to the freedom of these connections. . It appeared to him a very wife plan, that the East Indies should clothe the two continents of America. It was his idea, that the colonifts would be dreffed more to their tafte, at a cheaper rate, and in a manner more fuitable to the climate. In times of the European wars they would not be exposed, as they frequently had been, to the want of the most common and necessary articles of life., They would be richer, more attached to the mothercountry, and better able to defend themselves against the enemies it might draw upon them. These enemies themselves would be less formidable, because they would gradually lose the strength which they acquire from furnithing Mexico and Peru with provisions. Spain, in a word, by collecting' from the merchandise of India, the fame duties which it receives from those that are furnished by it's rivals, would lose no part of it's revenue. It might even, upon emergencies, obtain from it's colonies fuccours, which, at prefent, they have neither the will not the power to Supply.

The views of this bold and enterprifing minifler were extended fill further. He wished that the mother-country itself should form immense connections with the East, through the

medium

medium of it's American colonies. According BOOK to him, the Philippines, which had hitherto paid VI. an enormous tribute to the industry of the European, or Aliatic nations, that furnished them with manufactures, or productions, might fend their inhabitants in fearch of them, upon their: own ships, and obtain them at first hand. By giving the same quantity of metals as their competitors, they would purchase at a cheaper rate, because these metals coming directly from America, would not have incurred so much expence, as those which are conveyed into our regions, before they go to' India. The merchandife. embarked at Manilla, would arrive at Panama, upon an ocean perpetually calm, in a very; straight line; and with the same winds. By means of a-very fhort canal, which hath been folicited a .. long time by the merchants, the cargoes would afterwards be eafily conveyed to the mouth of the Chagre, where they would be embarked for Europe. The first of the second second second

Alberoni was well aware; that those powers, whose interests this arrangement would prejudice, and whose trade it would ruin, would endeavour to obstruct it; but he thought himself in a condition to bid defiance to their resentment in the European seas, and he had already given orders for putting the coasts and harbours of the South Sea in a state not to sear the efforts of any seeble squadrons that might attack them.

These views were approved of by some. Those who were enthusiasts in favour of Alberoni, and there were many of them, conceived them to be the sublime efforts of a powerful genius, for the prosperity and glory of a monarchy, which he was endeavouring to restore to it's former splendour. Others, and these were, the greater number, considered these projects, so great in appear-

BOOK ance, merely as the ravings of a difordered imagination, which exaggerated the refources of a runed state, and which flattered itself that it should give the commerce of the whole world to a nation reduced, for two centuries past, to the impossibility of carrying on it's own. The difgrace of this extraordinary man quieted the ferment which he had raifed in the two hemispheres The connections of the Philippines with Mexico, continued upon the former footing, as well as those which this great province maintained with Peru by the South Sea.

Commu-Mexico with Peru and with Spain by means of Guati-

mala.

THE coasts of Mexico do not resemble those mication of of Peru, where the vicinity and height of the Cordeleras entertain a perpetual fpring, and keep up regular and mild winds. As foon as the line is crossed, at the height of Panama, the free communication of the atmosphere from East to West being no longer interrupted by that prodidigious chain of mountains, the climate becomes different. The navigation, indeed, is easy and tale in these latitudes from the middle of October to the end of May; but during the rest of the year, the calms and storms which alternately prevail, render the fea troublefome and dangerous.

THE coast which borders this ocean, hath an extent of fix hundred leagues Formerly, not one fingle trading veffel, nor fifthing fmack, was known to come out of the ports which nature hath formed there. This inactivity was partly owen to the indolence of the people; but the fatal arrangements made by the court of Madrid, had contributed flill more to produce it.

WHEN the empire of the Incas, and that of Montezuma, first became provinces of Spain, the communication between them by the South Sea was open and uncontrouled. Some time after

this, it was reftrained to two ships; and in 1636BOOK it was entirely prohibited. Urgent and repeated representations determined the government to open it again at the end of half a century, but with restrictions that rendered it of no effect. It was not till 1774, that North and South America; were allowed to make all the exchanges which their mutual interest might require. The several parts of the two regions will undoubtedly derive great advantages from this new arrangement of things. It may however be foretold, that it will be more serviceable to Guatimala than to any other country!

This audience extends it's important jurifdiction over twelve leagues to the West, fixty to the East, a hundred to the North, and three hundred to the South: it is formed by seven or

eight provinces.

That of Costa Ricca is very thinly peopled, but little cultivated, and scarce affords any thing except cattle. A great part of the ancient inhabitants have hitherto refused to submit to the yoke.

NICARAGUA is regularly diffressed every year with a fix month's rain, which falls down in torrents, and a fix month's devouring drought. The inhabitants are some of the most esseminate men of New Spain, though among the least opulent.

. The Castilians have exercised more cruelties at Honduras than at any other place. They made a desert of it, and accordingly they get nothing from it, except a little casia, and some sarfaparilla

Vera-Paz used to furnish the Old Mexico, with those bright plumages, of which those pictures, that have been extolled for so long a time, were composed. This province hath lost Vol. II. N n

BOOKall it's importance, fince this kind of trade hath 11 been given up

Soconusco is known only by the perfection of its Cocoa The greatest part of this fruit, supplies America itself. The two hundred quintals that are brought to Europe belong to govern-If there be a greater quantity than the court can confume, it is fold to the public at double the price of that which comes from Caraccas

CHIAPA, though in the center of Mexico, formed a state independent of that empire at the armal of the Spaniards but this diffrict was alio compelled to yield to arms, the progress of which nothing could stop There was not much blood spilt on this spot, and the Indians are still more numerous here than any where elfe As the province abounds only in corn, fruits, and pullurage, few of the conquerors fettled in it, and this is perhaps the reason why man is less degraded, and less degenerated here, than in those diffricts that are full of mines, or advantageoufly fituated for trade The natives shew some intelligence, and a degree of aptitude for the arts, and th y speak a language which is soft, and hath even forne fort of elegance. These qualities are especially remarkable at Chiapa de Los-Indios, a city of tome importance, where the most considerable families of the natives have taken refuge, which they alone occupy, and where they enjoy great privileges The dexterity and courage of thefe men, who are lefs opprefled than their neighbours, is habitually displayed, upon the river which washes their walls. With a number of box's they form naval armaments, inflitute fea fights with each other, and attack and defend themselves with surprising agility. They build up castles of wood, which they cover with painted linen, and lay fiege to them They do not BOOK lefs excell in bull fighting, cudgelling, dancing, and all bodily exercife. How much will thefe accounts make us regret, that the Indians flouid have fallen under the power of a conqueror, who hath contracted, inflead of enlarging, the bonds

The province of Guatimala hath, in common with the other provinces dependent upon it, cattle, mines, corn, maize, fugar, and cotton but none of the reft flare with it the advantage of cultivating indigo. It is upon it's territory that a city bearing it's name is fituated, where all the offices of administration, and all the tribunals necessary for the government of fo large a coun-

try, are united

of their fervitude

THIS celebrated city was built, whether properly or improperly, in a valley, about three miles broad, and bounded by two lofty mountains From the mountain towards the South run feveral rivulets and fountains, which delightfully refresh the villages that are fituated on the declivity, and keep up a perpetual succession of slowers and fruits. The aspect of the mountain that is to the North, is terrible There is no verdure ever feen upon it, nothing but affies, and calcined stones A kind of rumbling noise, which the inhabitants ascribe to the boiling of metals that are in a state of fusion within the caverns of the earth, is continually heard. From these internal furnaces iffue flames and torrents of fulphur, which fill the air with a horrible infection Guatimala, according to an expression much used, is situated between paradife and hell

The articles that are wanted in Peru, are difpatched from this capital by the South Sea The gold, the filver, and the indigo defined for this continent, are carried upon mules to the tot a Nn 2 BOOK of St. Thomas, fituated at the distance of fixty leagues from the city, at the extremity of a very deep lake, which lose sites if in the gulph of Horduras. All these riches are exchanged in the staple for the merchandise that is brought from Europe in the months of July and August. This place is intirely open, though it would have been very easy to have secured it from every attack; the more so as it's entrance is rendered narrow by two high rocks, which project on each side within cannon-shot of each other. It is probable that Spain will not alter her conduct till she hath suffered for her' negligence; which she might easily be made to do

THE vessels that should undertake this expedition might anchor in perfect fafety in the road. A thousand or twelve hundred men, landing at St. Thomas, might pass over the mountains for the space of fifteen leagues, where they would find commodious roads and sublistence. The rest of their way would be across plains that are well peopled and plentiful. They would then arrive at Guatimala, in which there is not a fingle foldier, nor the least fortification. It's forty thousand souls, Indians, Negroes, Mestees, and Spaniards, who have never feen an enemy, would be incapable of making the least relistance. In order to fave their lives, they would deliver up the immense riches they have been accumulating for more than two centuries, which would amount at least to thirty millions \*. The troops would reimbark with this booty, and, if they chose it, with hostages that would secure their retreat.

Unfortunately this danger cannot now be incurred. A dreadful earthquake hath completely destroyed Guatimala in 1772. This city, one of

the richest in America, presents nothing but a BOOK heap of ruins.

In other countries such a city would soon be reflored again; for what cannot active and industrious nations do? By them, regions that were thought uninhabitable are peopled; the most ungrateful (oil is rendered fruitful; the waters are driven back, and this fertility arises from the flime; moraffes are made to bear houses; and man cuts roads for himfelf through the bodies of mountains. He feparates, or connects together, at pleafure, the rocks, by bridges which are, as it were, suspended over the obscure depth of the abyls, at the bottom of which the angry torrent feems to murmur at his boldness. dikes against the swelling of the sea, and sleeps with tranquillity in the dwelling which he hath founded on the waves. He collects together a few planks, and fitting down upon them, orders the winds to convey him to the extremity of the globe, and the winds obey his commands. O man! that art fometimes fo pufillanimous and fo little, how great dost thou appear in thy projects, and in thine actions: with two feeble levers of flesh, and assisted only by thine understanding, thou dost attack the whole system of nature, and dost subdue her! Thou bravest the conspiring elements, and dost reduce them to obedience! Nothing can relift thee, whether thy foul be tormented with love, or with the defire of possessing fome beautiful woman, destined one day to become the object of thine aversion; whether it be fwayed by interest, or by the rage of filling thy coffers with riches, from which thou doft flatter thyself with the prospect of enjoyments which thou wilt reject when in thy power; or whether it be stimulated with the thirst of glory, or the ambition of obtaining the applaule of thy cotemporaries

Book portries whom thou doft defpife, or of pofterity, which cannot certainly have a ftronger climit to thy reverence! If thou doft great things from pallion, thou doft others equally great from a fprit of reftleffines and difquietude. Thou wast acquainted with but one world, and when thou didft conjecture the existence of another, thou didft go in search of it, and didft find it. I have progressively followed thy sootleps in this New World. If the boldness of thine enterprises

fhould fometimes have concealed their enormity from me, I am still equally confounded, whether thy crimes freeze me with horror, or thy virtues transport the with admiration SUCH is the picture of the ferocious Spaniards who conquered America but the nature of the climate, a vicious administration, and the plentiful enjoyment of all things, enervated their defeendants Every undertaking which carried with it the least difficulty, was found to be above the efforts of their corrupted minds, and their effeminate arms refused every kind of labour During this long period, a flate of lethargy prevailed, of which there are few examples in history How was it possible, that in such a state, a city swallowed up by volcanoes, should have been ruled out of it's ruins? But for some years past, the spirit of the nation linth been reviving Already hath the plan of another city been traced, more spacious, mo e convenient, more beautiful than the former and it will be erected at the distance of eight leagues from that, upon a more folid basis Already hath the court of Madrid, contrary to their usual and too tardy modes of proceeding, fet afide the funds necessary for the construction of the public edifices Already do the inhabitants, relieved from those tributes which might have ferved as a reason or as a pretence

for

for their inactivity, coincide with the views of BOOK government. New Spain will foon be embellifhed with a New Guatimala. If this exertion fhould continue, or if it should increase, the English will probably be driven from the fettlements they have begun between the Lake of Nicaragua and Cape Honduras.

This district occupies one hundred and eighty Descriptileagues of the coast, and runs back into the inland onofHonparts, as far as some very high mountains at a catan, and greater or less distance from the ocean.

greater or lefs distance from the ocean. Cambridge of the foll-is commonly even, very well watered, he difference is to foll-is commonly even, very well watered, he difference is the for all the productions cultivated putes between the tropics. The inhabitants are not Span and here exposed to those frequent droughts and ter-England rible hurricanes, which, in the islands of the New parts.

World, so often frustrate the most reasonable ex-

pectations.

The country is chiefly inhabited by the Moskito Indians. These people were formerly numerous: but the small-pox hath considerably diminished their population. It is not supposed that their several tribes can at present put more than nine or ten thousand men under arms.

A NATION, still less populous, is fixed in the environs of Cape Gracias-à-Dios. These are the Samboes, descendants, as it is said, of the crew of a Guinea ship which was shipwrecked in these latitudes. Their complexion, their features, their hair, and their propensities, will scarce allow us to

affign any other origin to them.

THE English are the only Europeans, whom their cupidity hath induced to settle in these savage regions.

THER first establishment was formed about

the year 1730, at twenty-fix leagues distance from Cape Honduras. It's position, at the extremity

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BOOK tremity of the coast, and upon the Black River, which hath no more than fix feet water at it's mouth, will probably always retard and prevent

it's progress. Ar the distance of fifty-four leagues from this colony is Gracias-à-Dios; the harbour of which, formed by an arm of the fea, is immenfe, and tolerably fafe. It is near this famous cape that the English have fixed themselves, upon a navigable river, the borders of which are very fertile.

SEVENTY leagues beyond this, this enterprifing nation hath found, at Blue-field fome spacious and fruitful plains, an accessible river, a convenient harbour, and a rock which might eafily be made impregnable.

IN 1769, the three factories did not employ more than two hundred and fix white men, as many Mulattoes, and nine hundred flaves. 'Exclusive of the mules and other articles sent to Jamaica, they fent this year to Europe eight hundred thousand feet of mahogany, two hundred thousand pounds weight of sarsaparilla, and ten thousand pounds of tortoise-shell. The number of hands hath been fince increased. Sugar canes have begun to be planted; and the first sugar they ... have yielded bath been found to be of a superior quality. Some careful observers assirm, that a quiet possession of the Moskito country, would one day be more valuable to Great Britain, than all the islands which that nation now possesses in the West Indies.

THE English do not feem to form the least doubt respecting their right of property. Never, fay the writers of this country, did Spain fubdue these people, and never did these people submit to Spain. They were by right, and ipfo facto, independent, when, in 1670, their chiefs, of

their own accord, had recourse to England, and BOOK acknowledged it's fovereignty. So little was this fubmission compelled, that it was renewed at feveral intervals. At their folicitation, the court of London fent, in 1741, a body of troops upon this territory, and these were soon followed by a civil administration. If, after the peace of 1763, the troops and the magistrates were withdrawn, and if the fortifications, raifed for the fecurity of the favages, and their protectors, were demolished, this was owen to the ignorance of the ministry, who suffered themselves to be perfuaded, that the Moskito country made part of the Bay of Honduras. This mistake having been removed, a regular form of government hath again been established in these regions at the beginning of 1776.

WE should not scruple to enter upon the difcustion of these great interests, if the powers which they concern, conducted themselves with reason and justice: but it is strength and convenience that fettles every thing between them, although none of them have had the boldness to acknowledge it. Monarchs, what is that false shame which checks you? Since equity is for you nothing but an idle name, why do ye not avow . it? Of what use are those treaties which cannot guarantee the continuation of peace, to which the weakest is compelled to accede; which denote nothing in either of the contracting parties, except their being exhausted of the means to continue the war; and which are always infringed? It would be better that ye should sign only a suspension of hostilities, without fixing the duration of it. If ye have resolved to be unjust, cease, at least, to be perfidious; for perfidy is a base and odious vice, inconsistent with the dignity of potentates. The fox in the lion's fkin,

BOOK or the lion in the fox's fkin, are two animals vi equally indiculous. But, inflead of addreffing our discourse to deaf persons, whom we cannot convince of any thing, and whom we may offend, let us give some account of the Bay of Honduras and Campeachy, and of the peninsula of Jucatan,

which feparates them
This peninfula is a hundred leagues in length, and twenty or five and twenty in breadth. The country is entirely level. There is neither a river nor a ftream to be feen in it but the water is every where so near the surface of the earth, and the shells are every where sound in so great abundance, that this large space must formerly have made part of the same than the first Spaniards who appeared upon these coasts, sound, according to Heriera, a very singular custom established there. The men generally carried about them some looking strikes made of a shining stone, in which they incessantly viewed themselves, while the wemen never made any use of this instrument, which is of so much value to beauty.

Ir the continual use which women make in our country of a looking glass, only shews the desire that they have of making themselves agreeable to the men, by adding to the charms which they have received from nature, every attention that art can give them, the men would be taking the same trouble at Jucatan in order to please the women. But it is so singular a fact, that we may reasonably call it in question, unless it be supported by another, still more extraordinary, which is, that the men devote themselves to idleness, while the women are condemned to labour. When the functions peculiar to the two sexes are perverted, I shall not be surprised to find in one, the fire cloud-

ness of the other.

THE Jucatan, Honduras, and Campeachy, BOOK did not offer to the devastators of the New He- VI. misphere those-rich metals for which they had croffed fo many feas. Accordingly, they neglected, and despised these regions. Few of them fettled there; and those who came there by chance, foon contracted the indolence of the Indians. None of them attended to the cultivation of productions fit for exportation. In common with the colonies which had been destroyed or enflaved, they lived upon cocoa, and maize; to which they had added, the easy and convenient resource, of cattle brought from the Old World, In order to pay for their clothing, which they either would not, or knew not how to make themselves, and for some other articles of moderate value, which they were supplied with from Europe, they had properly no other resource, than a kind of wood for dying, known in all the markets by the name of Campeachy or logwood.

The tree which furnishes it, is rather high, hath alternate leaves, composed of eight smaller ones, in form of a heart, and disposed in two rows along one common costa.— It's showers, which are small and reddish, are collected in clusters at the extremities of the branches. They have each of them a calix of a single piece; from the bottom of cach arise sive petals, and ten distinct stamma, the pistil, placed in the center, becomes a small oval pod, statemed, and divided longitudinally into two ovals filled with two or three feeds. The most internal part of the wood, which is at first red, becomes black some time after the wood hath been felled. It is only this inner part of the tree that yields this black and violet colour.

THE

BOOK THE tafte for these colours, which was perhaps more general two centuries ago than it is at prefent, procured a confiderable vent for this precious wood This fale was for the benefit of the Spaniards alone, 'till the fettlement of the English at Tamaica

Among the multitude of pirates who were continually coming from this famous island, feveral went to cruse in the two bays, and on the coasts of the peninfula, to intercept the veffels that failed there Thefe plunderers were fo little acquainted with the value of their cargo, that, when they found barks laden with it, they took away no thing but the iron utenfils. One of them having carried off a large veffel, which had nothing elfe but the logwood on board, brought it into the Thames, defigning only to equip it as a privateer, when, contrary to his expectation, he fold at a very high price the wood which he had thought to be of so little value, that he had always burnt it during his voyage. After this discovery, the pirates, who were not successful at sea, never failed to repair to the river of Champeton, where they took on board the piles of wood which were always sound ranged on the fhore

THE peace of the English with Spain having put a ftop to the depredations of these pirates, se veral of them employed themselves in cutting In dian wood Cape Catoche surnished them at first with abundance. As foon as they perceived it di minish, they went to settle between Tabasco and the river of Champeton, about Lake Trifle, and in Beef Island, which is very near it In 16,5 their numbers amounted to two hundred and fixty Their ardour, which at first was extreme, soon gave vay, and the habit of idleness prevailed As the greatest part of them were excellent mark(men.

matkinen, the chace became their predominant BOOK pation; and their former inclination to plunder visual relation; and their former inclination to plunder was rekindled in them'by this exercife. They foon began to make inroads into the Indian towns, the inhabitants of which they carried off. The women were defuned to wait on them; and the men they fold at Junaica, or other iflands. The Spaniards, reufed from their lethargy by these enormities, furprified them in the midth of their debaucheries, and carried them off. Most of them were even

taken in their cottages: they were led prisoners to

Mexico, where they ended their days in the mines. Those who escaped took refuge in the Gulph of Honduras, where they were joined by some wandering freebooters of North America. In process of time they increased to fifteen hundred men. The state of independence and plenty in which they lived, rendered the massly country they inhabited agreeable to them. Strong intrenchmenta secured them and their provisions; and they confined themselves to those employments, which their unhappy companions lamented that they had ever neglected. They only took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country, to cut wood, without being well armed.

Them industry was crowned with the greatest fucces. - In reality, the tun of wood, which had been fold as high as nine hundred livres? was gradually fallen to a very low price; but this disadvantage in the price was companiated by the quantity that was fold. The cutters delivered up the produce of their labours, either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, strong liquors, linens, and cloths; or to the English colonies of North America, which supplied them with provisions. This commerce, which was always

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK carried on by fraugglers, and which occasioned much clamour, became lawful in 1763. The liberty of cutting logwood was secured to Great Bri-

tain; but she was not permitted to raise forts, and was even obliged to destroy those which had been built. The court of Madrid seldom have made any facrifices fo great as that of establishing, in the center of their possessions, an active, powerful, and ambitious nation: Accordingly, foon after the peace, they fought to render even this concession. which unfortunate circumstances had extorted, almost useless.

THL wood which grows upon the dry foil at Campeachy, is much superior to that which is cut in the marshes of Honduras. The last-mentioned wood was, however, most in use, because the price of the former had, for a long time past, exceeded all bounds. This deficiency in the fale was a just punishment of the blindness and avidity of the trea-The Spanish ministry at length understood this great truth. The merchandife was difburthened of all the duties with which it had been oppressed; it was freed from all the shackles which impeded it's circulation, and then it had a large vent in all the markets. Soon after this, the English found no fale for their commodities. The court of Madrid, without having failed in their engagements, will find themselves freed from a competition, which rendered the pollession of two large provinces useless to them. The port of Cadiz fometimes receives the wood directly from the place it comes from; but it is more frequently fent to Vera Cruz, which is the true point of union be-

tween Mexico and Spain. OLD Vera-Cruz ferved at first for a mart. This It is chiefly by Veratown founded by Cortez on the very spot where he first landed, is situated on the borders of a river,

communi- which is dry one part of the year, but which in cates with Casta

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the rainy season is capable of receiving the largest B-O O K vessels. The danger to which the seamen were VI.

exposed, in a situation where nothing desended Maxima them against the violence of the winds to common by which in these latitudes, induced them to seek for more this trade secure shelter, which they found eighteen miles hitherto lower down on the same coast. There they built condusted. New Vera-Cruz, at seventy-two leagues distance

from the capital of the empire.

-New Vera-Cruz is fituated in a climate rendered disagreeable and unwholesome by a burning fun, and by frequent storms. It is bounded on the North by dry fands, and on the West by infectious morasses. The buildings are all of wood. The only inhabitants are, a moderate garrifon, fome agents of government, the navigators arriving from Europe, and the commissioners that are necessary to receive and expedite the cargoes. This harbour is formed by the small island of St. Juan de Ulloa. It hath the difadvantage of not being able to hold more than thirty or thirty-five vellels, which are not always sheltered from the northern winds. The entrance into it is by two channels only, which are fo narrow, that they will not admit more than one ship at a time. The sea in the neighbourhood is likewife extremely dangerous, on account of a great number of rocks almost even with the surface of the water. It was generally thought by the pilots of the country, that unihing but a complete knowledge of the fituation, acquired by many years experience; could possibly have enabled them to avoid so many shoals. Some desperate pirates having surprised the place in 1712; towers were then constructed on the shore, where vigilant centinels are continually on guard for the common fafety.

It is into this bad harbour, which is properly the only one there is in the Gulph, that the fleet

then fail through the streights of Bahama, they BOOK continue their course to the height of New England, and after saling for a long time in this latitude of sorty degrees, they at length weer to the south-east, to come in view of Cape St Vincent, and to proceed to Cadiz

In the interval between the failing of one fleet and the other, the court of Madrid fends out one or to o men of war, which are called Azogues, to carry to Mexico the quickfilver that is necessary for worling the mines. This quickfilver was originally drawn from Peru, but the commissions were to uncertain, to flow, and to often fraudulent. that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to fend it from Europe The mines of Guadalcanal at first furnished the means. These were afterwards forfal en for the richer mines of Almaden. in Estramadura The Azogues, on their return, take charge of the produce of the sales that have been made fince the departure of the fleet, of the firms repaid for credit granted, and of the funds which the Mexican merchants choose to employ on their own account in the next expedition. The government habitually allows three or four merchantmen to accompany these ships Their whole cargo should confist of fruits and liquors, but other more important articles are fraudulently introduced These merchantmen always return with their ballast, unless by special favour they should be allowed to take in fome cochinerl

Ir the departure of the fleet be delayed from reafons of convenience or policy, the court fends one of it's flips from the Hayannah to Vera Cruz a Jt there takes charge of every thing that belongs to government, and of the metals which the debrors, or speculating persons, choose to send from the New Hemisphere into the Old

Vor. II Oo

BOOK arrives, the defination of which is to furnifi Mexico with provisions. The first that bring them do not land in fuccion. They are fixed out at Cadiz, with a convoy, every tvo, three, or four years, as occasions and circumstraces require. They are usually from twelve to frurteen large merchant shaps, escorted by two stups of the latte, or by a greater number, it public tranque lity be disturbed or threatened. In order to prevent the dangers to which they might be exposed at although, by the hurricanes, they set out from Spain in the months of February, May, or Jane, in their passage, they take in refreshments at Potto Rico, and arave, after a voy ge of seventy breighty days, at Vera-Cruz, from whence their whole cago is conveyed.

by mules to Xalapa. In this town, which is lituated to elve lengues ifrom the harbour, on the back of a mountain, and well built, is kept a fair, which was limited by the arcient regulations to fix weeks, but which at prefent lafts four months, and which is forretimes prolonged to it further period, at the folicitation of the Spanish or Mexican merchants When the commercial transactions are finished, the metals, and other articles given by Mexico an exchange for the productions and merchandise of Europe, are fent to Vera Cruz, where they are embarked for our hemisphere. The serious for dispatching them are not all equally favourable. It would be dangerous to put to fea in the months of August and S-prember, and impossible to do it in October and November. The fleet always takes the route of the Hayaspah, where it is joined by vellels from Honduras, Carthagena, and other places It Pops there ten or twelve days, to take in fresh provisions, and to allow time to the ships to freight il emfelves i ith fugar, tobacco, and other articles supplied by the island of Cuba The ships then

then fail through the streights of Bahama; they BOOK continue their course to the height of New Eng. VI. land, and after failing for a long time in this latitude of forty degrees, they at length veer to the fouth-east, to come in view of Cape St. Vincent, and to proceed to Cadiz.

In the interval between the failing of one fleet and the other, the court of Madrid lends out one or two men of war, which are called Azogues, to . carry to Mexico the quickfilver that is necessary · for working the mines. This quickfilter was originally drawn from Peru; but the commissions were to uncertain, so flow, and so often fraudulent. that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to fend it from Europe. The mines of Guadalca--nal at first furnished the means. These were afterwards forfaken for the richer mines of Almaden. in Estramadura. The Azogues, on their return, take charge of the produce of the fales that have been made fince the departure of the fleet, of the firms repaid for credit granted, and of the funds which the Mexican merchants choose to employ on their own account in the next expedition. The government habitually allows three or four merchantmen to accompany these ships. Their whole cargo should consist of fruits and liquors; but other more important articles are fraudulently introduced. These merchantmen always return with their ballast, unless by special favour they should be allowed to take in fome cochineal.

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Vor. II. Oo

fion. 'After the peace of 1763, the government BOOK thought that a people, enervated by idleness and by the climate, were but ill adapted to war; and they sent some regular troops from the mother-

mey tent tome regular troops from the mothercountry into the colony. This fiftem is flill followed, and there are always three or four battalions from our continent at Mexico, which are only relieved after they have staid there four years.

- 'To these means of preservation others have been added, not less effectual. The island of St. . Juan de Ulloa, which forms the harbour of Vera Cruz, and which is to defend it, had but a few ' bad fortifications. These have been razed. Some extensive and solid works, calculated to make the most obstinate resistance, have been lately constructed upon their ruins, and in the body of the rock If, contrary to every appearance, this key of Mexico should be forced, the country, even after this misfortune, would not be without defence. At the distance of four-and-twenty leagues from the fea, and at the opening of the mountains, in a plain which nothing can command, the foundations of the magnificent citadel of Perole were laid in 1770: The arfenals, the barracks, the magazines, and every part of it, are bomb-proof. According to all appearances, the court of

Madrid will never lessen the number of troops they keep in New Spain: but that part of the public revenue which the fortifications used to absorb, cannot fail of increasing their treasures, unless they should employ them in the colony itself, in forming some useful clabbishments. Already large docks are opened upon the borders of the river Alvarado, where woods for ship-building abound. This novelty is of fortunate presage, and will undoubtedly be followed by others. Perhaps, after having remained for three centuries in a state of oppression or lethargy, Mexico will at length

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B O O K length fulfil the important destination to which it hath been so long called up in vain by nature. In this comfortable hope, let us take our leave of North America, in order to go into the southern part of that continent, where we shall see, by an arrangement of providence which will never change, the same effects produced by the same causes, the same animosities excited by the same barbarnty, the same precautions suggested by the same apprehensions, the same oppositions raised by the same pealouslies, where we shall see one robbery giving rise to another, one disgrace avenged by a subsequent disgrace, where we shall full see stupid perseverance in evil, and find a leffon of unavailus experience

IND OF THE SECOND VOLUME.